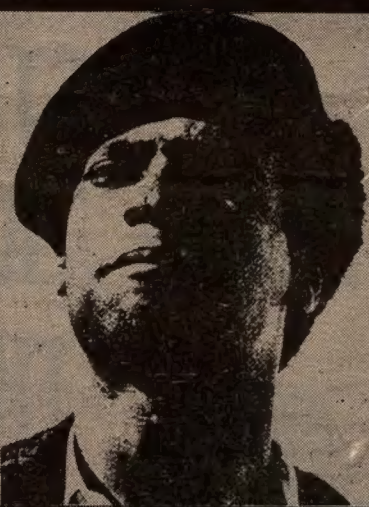


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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
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"If I am continuously denied this constitutional right of legal defense counsel of my choice who is effective by the Judge of this court, then I can only see Judge Hoffman as a blatant prejudicial error toward all defendants and myself in particular."

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE Black Panther Party



STATEMENT TO ALL REACTIONARY JOURNALISTS AND PRESSMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

From
THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION
OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



I have been informed by responsible leaders of the Black Panther Party that our Chairman Bobby Seale has been bound and gagged, in Judge Hoffman's court in Chicago where he's now on trial. I've been told that they have been trying all kinds of gags out on Bobby to keep him silent, but somehow he continues to talk. I've been told that members of the jury are actually crying out of some terror, some fear, some guilt, when they see Bobby in the position that he's in and continuing to defend himself and to speak up for justice even through a gag. This doesn't surprise me at all to hear that the Chairman of the Black Panther Party has been bound and gagged in a courtroom in Chicago.

It doesn't really surprise me because I'm fully aware that the court system in the United States is part and parcel of the apparatus for oppression under which Black people have lived ever since they were brought to the United States as slaves. I'm fully aware of what the institutions of American society can do to the oppressed people. But one thing that sometimes is a little hard to understand, is the role that is played in making excuses and justifying the actions of the ruling class of the oppressors. I'm speaking specifically about the members of the mass media, the press, radio, and television. And I want it to be clear that I'm speaking to them as a colleague of theirs, because

I'm a journalist myself. I pay very close attention to the way that information is disseminated from the mass media, and I've become aware, as many people are aware that one of the key instruments of oppression, of controlling the oppressed people, is the mass media.

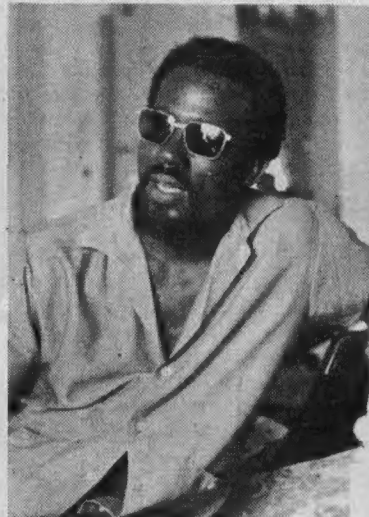
The mass media is manipulated and controlled by intelligent people who know how to formulate ideas and who know how to invent stories and fairy tales that explain away the fiendish and evil activities of the oppressor and confuse the oppressed by taking them on a trip. These are criminal activities, these are counter-revolutionary activities, these are activities that perpetuate oppression. These are activities that justify the murderous operations of the United States government, for instance in Vietnam, or in Korea, or in Palestine, or in Africa, Asia, Latin America, anywhere you go. Where you find an oppressive regime in power, you find violence, hidden, conniving in the form of the imperialist United States government. Domestically we find that the fascist government has taken off its mask under Richard Nixon.

Richard Nixon, the man who was a member of the H.U.A.C, special advisor to the H.U.A.C. when Martin Dies was the chairman of that body. A man who has built his entire career on political prosecution, political chicanery, and deception, and demagoguery. The United States of America is in the hands of this man who unleashed Bulldog Hoover upon the people, upon militant spokesman of the people, released him upon the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale.

In this situation speaking specifically for myself I can not relate to the judicial system of the United States of America, I cannot relate to what Judge Hoffman is doing to the Chairman of the Black Panther Party. And I cannot relate to anyone who does anything to justify that. So that, up against the wall for the men of words, who create phoney television presentations, who broadcast bullshit to children or who write lies in newspapers. I don't care what newspaper it is, or which television it is. In order for the people to be able to deal with the crisis that they face, they have to have the truth, and they

have to have implacable justice for those who conceal the truth and for those who confuse the people by disseminating false information.

So it's very difficult for me to focus specific hostilities at any one particular instrument or a section of the American ruling class. Because I feel the same about everyone of them, every member of that ruling class. And every profession, every section of the economy, every category that you might be able to put into the American ruling class, I feel exactly the same way. That is it's a negative, diseased and totally undesirable element, and that it must be eliminated. So we know what we must do for the oppressor who move actively against the



people in defending this system. And we must also know what we must do to those who lie in the mass media, in order to confuse, or to deceive the people. And I don't think that criticism, or talking about them, or talking to them, or trying to correct them is the solution. I think that the solution to their problem take their heads, I could say something different, I could say something like a teacher would say, to try to show them the errors of their ways. To try to convince them that they should change, that they should start telling the truth. I could try to appeal to their intelligence or to their conscience, or to their self-interests, or to some other quality that might motivate them. But I don't have any hope that they would listen to what I would say about that, or listen

to anyone else who says anything about that in the same way that I'm saying it. I believe that the people are evil, that they know what they're doing, and that they will continue to do that no matter what you say. If I would make a statement that would try to appeal to them, or to try to communicate with them; they would write a lie about that. So that I say that we must communicate with them in a manner that they cannot fail to understand. And I'd also like to quote Stalin. Stalin said that

"The weapons of criticism will never equal the criticism of weapons." So I say that we must elevate our level of criticism of these pigs to another level. And that when they have not listened to the criticism of the people; then the people should begin to criticize them with guns. Then they will begin to listen, or it will not matter whether they listen or not. So I think that for all the pigs, for the dumb racist pig cop on the beat, to the avaricious businessmen, to the demagogic politicians, and to the men of words, and to all their flunkies. But particularly to all those who carry weapons, who use weapons, or cause others to use weapons in defense of the United States capitalist government, they are fair targets for the wrath of the people.

Later for the mass media, later for all these special categories. When the enemy is identified, ain't nothing to do but move against him. They'll change their attitudes.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



BIG MAN SPEAKS TO NLF IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN



BIG MAN

The liberation struggle of Black people in America is one in the same as that of the Vietnamese people. We members of the Black Panther Party recognize that there is only one world and one revolution. The revolution is not split up between one community and another. The oppressor is manifested in the imperialist ruling class, wherever they may be. So we began to make distinctions in terms of associating oneself with friends, and disassociating ourselves with people that we define as enemies.

We define our enemies as the pigs, those who work for the pigs, and those who sit around and do nothing as the Vietnamese people are being exterminated by the fascist military forces and as members of the Black Panther Party are being systematically murdered and imprisoned by U.S. domestic forces (POLICE).

Our ideas for solving the problem is manifested in showing our support of solidarity with the struggle that's being waged in Vietnam as well as other places.

The only way we will be able to solve the problem is to move from a position of unity in terms of trying to show by example.

We say to America that "the racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder, brutality and torture of Black people, or face the wrath of the armed people."

And we say, there is no negotiating to be done. Either you withdraw your forces from Vietnam or we are going to do everything in our power to open up a new front right here in America.

In order for the American imperialist to wage wars of suppression against national liberation movements abroad, they must have peace and stability at home. But at home there is discontent not only in the Black community, at this moment thousands of progressive White people are out in the streets in Chicago fighting pigs in an effort to bring the war home.

The Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, is now in jail in Chicago. He is one of eight men accused of conspiracy to incite the so-called "riot" that occurred in that city in 1968. At the present time he is the only one locked up in jail.

Richard Nixon has made the Black Panther Party his prime target for

destruction, because through our social practices, we are raising the struggle to a higher level. We are willing to lay down our lives and to pick up the gun. We are willing to die, but we are also willing to kill. So long as the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are strong and free, then Black people in the United States will be able to live in dignity and self respect.

To bring this situation about, it must be understood that we can no longer place any faith in a smiling politician who is a past master at talking out of a thousand sides of his mouth or on any bleeding heart and say, "Good luck, have faith." Because you are either a part of the problem or part of the solution to the problem. And the Black Panther Party would rather be part of the solution than to be any part of the problem.

"long live the victory of the people's war"

All Power To The People
Long Live the Thoughts of
Ho Chi Minh
by Big Man



CHARLES R. GARRY

CHARLES: Gaggling and binding like a wild animal, a man who's on trial for a serious charge like the charge that Bobby Seale is facing, and if I didn't know Bobby Seale, whom I think is one of the most beautiful human beings I have ever met, not only beautiful from a physical standpoint but beautiful inside. A man who's a great humanitarian, a man who's selfless, who's dedicated to the welfare of all people no matter what the color of their skin or their religious background or their national origin or ethnic background would be. For a man to be treated in the manner that Bobby Seale is being treated by this judge just makes me sick inside. I don't feel good as it is, and this isn't helping my health any at all, I can tell you that.

INTERVIEWER: Has this ever happened before to your knowledge?

CHARLES: No, I have checked, not only with my own background which goes back to 30 years of active practice in trial work, but I talked to Professor Kinoy, Arthur Kinoy, this afternoon, who is a Professor of Constitutional Law at Rutgers, in New Jersey. I asked him if he knew of any instances where any defendant has ever been bound and gagged in the courtroom. He said never in his memory has this ever happened. It never happened in fascist Italy, it's never happened even in the deep South where people are treated in a very degrading and inhuman fashion. To have let it happen in Chicago, the so-called heart of the industrial world of America, shows that the police state is here, that we are moving into fascism and the due process of law is a mockery. And unless the American Bar awakens to this kind of conduct on the part of the judicial system that we have, I'm going to say that the future of America is limited in the manner that we know it today.

INTERVIEWER: What can be done about this?

CHARLES: As I mentioned a minute ago, the Bar of America must be aroused. And I'm sure they are aroused, especially to the young Bar of America, and they're not going to permit this to happen. We intend to file a suit either in Washington D.C., or in Chicago itself, pointing out the conduct of the court, the judge, the Attorney General and the U.S. Attorney in this regard. Denying this man the right to have an attorney of his choice, an attorney who knows his background, knows the problems, knows what he's charged with, who's prepared his case. In lieu of that, all he's asked is that he be able to defend himself, until such time that his attorney can be there. This is permitted under the Constitution of the United States, that is if we still have a Constitution of the United States.

INTERVIEWER: Do you intend to personally go to Chicago to try to take a hand in this now. Are you physically able to do it?

GARRY: I intend to take a part in this in a collateral proceeding. I do not intend to go before the same court that's railroad, or attempting to railroad the rights, the Constitutional rights of Bobby Seale. And when I say railroad, I'm mindful of the fact that I'm an officer of the courts. And I'm

mindful of the fact that when the constitution of the U.S. is trampled upon, walked upon, and destroyed, then it's my duty to be able to speak out. And I don't intend to be one of the lawyers of America to say Heil Hitler to a court and give up the constitutional basic human rights that a person has in a courtroom.

INTERVIEWER: Mr. Garry, isn't there a possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court could act immediately to stop that trial?

GARRY: Of course there's a possibility. The Supreme Court should have acted when it had the opportunity, when we asked for a six weeks continuance, so that Bobby Seale and the other defendants rights could have been properly protected, and not being manacled in the manner that they approached today.

INTERVIEWER: Are you going to attempt to get a hold of Justice Douglas or anyone else on the Supreme Court to see what can be done immediately?

GARRY: The attorneys are having a conference this weekend, here in my home, and we're going to come up with some answers and I'm not prepared to say exactly the details upon which we are going to proceed. We're going to have several lawyers here from throughout the country and we hope to be able to come up with some answers to offset this fascist trend that our judicial system is relapsing into.

INTERVIEWER: Are Attorneys Kunstler and Weinglass to attend this meeting?

GARRY: Yes, the Chicago attorneys are definitely going to be here, Kunstler and Weinglass.

DAVID: I think that we should add that this isn't a case that is just limited to lawyers or just the people in the courtroom, that this is a case that should have the attention of all the people in America. So that the Black Panther Party is making a demand to all the pressmen, to all the journalists of the world to wield their weapon, their pens, and take the anti-fascist stand against the kind of railroad, against the injustice that's being perpetrated against Black people in America. And that there is a precedence related to Bobby's situation. I think that we can go back to the Dred Scott case, and that it has been a known fact, it's a historical fact that Black people have no rights that Whites are bound to respect. And the manner that Bobby's being treated is in the manner of a slave. The man was taken from his home state here in California against his will, he's a fugitive slave. All of his constitutional rights have been violated. The 6th, the 13th, and 14th amendment rights, rights that are supposed to protect Black people in the court systems of America, so that we're telling the journalists, the press, all of the radical reporters to wield their mighty pen against the fascist system of America. And if they can't do that then they'll have to pick up the sword, because we recognize that the pressmen are ideological servants for the fascist system of the U.S.A.

INTERVIEWER: When do you expect to go to Chicago?

GARRY: I don't intend to go to Chicago until such time as we feel that we can file an action, and not go before the judge who has already committed himself,

and committed so many irreversible errors. I do not intend to go before that court, and I've been away from the trial for at least six weeks. I do not intend to go in there and just give the semblance of a mockery of representation to the defendants in that case. I do not intend to become that kind of a vassal. I'd like to point out a simple thing or two. In 1948 we were shocked that this government of ours would go after certain Communist leaders under the Smith Act. That there in 1948, the defendant, the Chairman of the Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, was permitted to defend himself in spite of the fact that there were at least six lawyers there. He was permitted to defend himself, but of course Eugene Dennis was a White man. You could be a degrading Communist, but if you're a White man you still got better rights than you do in our judicial system if you're a militant Black man. Apparently the judge in Chicago doesn't believe that Bobby Seale has got the intelligence to be able to even speak for himself. Apparently the 13th amendment, the Emancipation of the slaves and the Black people has not yet reached Chicago, Illinois.

INTERVIEWER: As far as you're concerned then Charles, despite the fact that there are other attorneys on the case in Chicago which is Hoffman's argument. Bobby has said that this won't harm or affect his leeway, that he has no defense at all.

GARRY: He has no defense at all, not only that, but the two attorneys who're representing the seven other defendants don't know any of the details concerning Bobby Seale. And as a matter of fact, the seven other defendants are being denied due process of law. Because the attorneys, the two attorneys were forced to go to trial without being prepared, because the Chief Counsel in the case was myself. I was the one that was prepared. The two other lawyers were going to follow suit. One of the two attorneys who was active there was not even going to be active in the courtroom when the trial started.

INTERVIEWER: If all else fails will you ask for severance?

GARRY: We've asked for everything Tim.

INTERVIEWER: You haven't asked for severance.

GARRY: Of course we asked for severance. We've asked for everything under the shining canopy. Each and every motion has been deliberately and willfully denied. Not only that, in reading the transcript I find that the attorneys, outstanding lawyers, Kunstler and Weinglass have been limited in their cross examinations. Insulted by the judge; for instance to give you an example, the judge says, the form of that question is bad, and he says it in such a way that it almost makes the person feel as though he's as rotten as they come. Contrast that to whenever the U.S. Attorney asks a question that's questionable to this judge. When the U.S. Attorney does something, he doesn't say the form of that question was bad, he'll say Mr. Foran, I wonder if you could reword that a little bit different? Can you see this kind of action in front of twelve jurors, being tried; the defendants getting any semblance of justice? Bobby Seale has sat there now for five weeks calmly being pushed around and degraded and kicked around. He's finally had all that he could

stand. I don't know how he stood it this long. I couldn't have stood it two days. As a matter of fact, when I just hear about it, I boil. I'm horribly shocked at what happened in Chicago in relationship to Bobby Seale. I just cannot believe that in 1969 in democratic America where America is talking about what a great humanitarian power it is in trying to sell itself to the rest of the world, sell itself either by virtue of the press or by the gun, that it would take a gagging and a chaining of a defendant, who is on trial for a serious charge, because he asked that he be able to defend himself; since his attorney could not be there, and where the court would not continue the case sufficiently long so his attorney could be there.

INTERVIEWER 2: Do you plan to go back there soon?

GARRY: I plan to go back there as soon as my doctors tell me I can. But I intend to go back there to file a law suit against the conduct of the Attorney General and the court proceeding in the inhuman and fascist manner that they are proceeding in today. Bobby Seale is being denied his rights under the 1st amendment of the U.S. constitution, the 6th amendment, the right to counsel, and the 13th amendment which is the Emancipation amendment that was passed a few years ago. And maybe remind some of those courts and judges that a Civil War was fought and the Black people today are trying to remember and we vitalize the battle that went on during the Civil War and they intend to have the equality and dignity that they're entitled to, even in Judge Hoffman's court.

DAVID: I just like to say in addition to what Garry's already said, that what's happening to Bobby is the precedence for all Black people in America, especially because the way that Bobby's being treated is nothing new within this system or with the judicial system of America. Bobby's being treated as a slave. Black people are slaves and Chicago is a mirror image of how the rights of Black people have been violated since the emancipation of Black people on the shores of America. And that we would just like to remind people of the Dred Scott case, and in Bobby's situation today I hope that the American people are focused on this press conference because Black people have no other choice, they cannot get the justice that's supposed to be guaranteed to Black people through the Constitution. They can't get it through the court system, so that the only way that they can possibly get justice is in the streets, to pick up guns and to ward off the criminals manifested in the Adolph Hoffmans, manifested in the Judge Diedens, the judicial systems of Alameda county or what have you. I think that Warren Wells case is a very clear indication of how Black political activists, people that are trying to move in a manner to bring about world peace will be treated if they take a position against the status quo. So that our information, our level of struggle for the American people whether they are Black, White, Brown, or Red is to pick up guns and to ward off the true criminals, the criminals against humanity and that's all the fascists, the fascists on a very local level, and on an international level the imperialists, which is no more than U.S. imperialism, the Richard Nixons, the Mitchells, the Hoffmans, and all the people that are ideological servants for the mass media here in the U.S.A.

DAVID HILLIARD,
CHIEF OF STAFF

INTERVIEWER 2: Mr. Garry, it appears from the press reports that we have seen that Bobby Seale has been somewhat of a nuisance in court by shouting and refusing to listen to the judge.

DAVID: Motherfuck the judge! The man is right, the man is a fascist. Bobby is a man that hasn't got any representation now. Bobby's rights have been violated: his 6th amendment rights, his 1st amendment rights, the 13th, the 14 amendment. All of these are laws that were passed during the reconstruction period. Bobby has a right to defend himself. Fuck that judge, fuck America. What Bobby's doing is all that he can do. The judge is a criminal, Bobby is a victim of pig persecution because he's a Black man.

INTERVIEWER 2: Mr. Garry, have you talked to Bobby Seale at all today?

GARRY: I haven't talked to him today, but I talked to him last week. Now in connection with the question that you asked in addition to what David Hilliard just said, I want to point out that for a period of four weeks, Bobby Seale sat in that courtroom (and in a very gentlemanly fashion) very respectfully to the judge, begged him, asked him, counseled with him and said I want to defend myself until at such time as my attorney can be here. And the judge would say sit down. I only recognize lawyers in the podium. Now, Bobby took this for a period of four weeks. I personally wouldn't have taken it for two days. I think it took a great amount of restraint, a great amount of dignity on the part of Bobby Seale, and he's got to the point where he recognizes that the so-called American justice for Black people is irrelevant, it's without any foundation, it's a mockery and you've got to remember that one of the points in the Black Panther Party Platform is that we demand the release of all men and women who have been imprisoned both in state, and federal penitentiaries immediately because they have been denied due process of law. What Bobby is going through only personifies and activates the very things the Black Panther Party has as one of its points in the 10 Point Program.

INTERVIEWER 3: Are you familiar with the attorney that he had originally before he made the change and asked for you?

GARRY: He's never had an attorney. Kunstler never was his lawyer.

INTERVIEWER 3: Who represented him then?

GARRY: I've been the only lawyer that he's had. The courts forced Kunstler to become an attorney of record. Kunstler only did it, so that there would be some liaison between Bobby, who's in jail, and his other rights that he may have.

CONT. ON PAGE 5

BOBBY KIDNAPPED, UNDER THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

Bobby was kidnapped off the streets of Berkeley, under the fugitive slave law that states, a fugitive slave may be apprehended without a warrant. Under this law nothing more is needed than the word of the slavemaster. In Bobby's case the FBI had no warrant. They say they arrested Bobby on the promise over the phone that they would be sent one by the slavemaster the (New Haven authorities.) Many Black people thought this law was abolished when the 13th amendment to the constitution abolished slavery. What happened to Bobby proves, that as with the Dred Scott case in 1857, Black people have no rights that this white racist, fascist power structure is bound to respect. Because the 4th amendment to the constitution states clearly that in order for a federal officer to search or arrest anyone they must first go before a judge, get a warrant and the warrant must state what or who is to be searched

and it must name the person to be arrested. In addition to this for all you people who think you are not slaves, the 14th amendment to the constitution was passed to insure that the rights of Black men would not be violated without due process of law. Now, in that bastion of fascism, called a federal court room in Chicago presided over by that Mr. Magoo looking little megalomaniac, pig Hoffman, Bobby is being denied the rights guaranteed under the 6th amendment to the constitution which states no defendant will be tried without council. Bobby's lawyer is Charles R. Garry who is recuperating from surgery and has not been able to attend the farce in Chicago. In addition to the fact that his 4th, 6th, 13th, and 14th amendment rights are being denied his 1st amendment rights are being denied also. The 1st amendment guarantees the right to free speech. Pig Hoffman continually denies Bobby the right to defend himself

and now this servant of fascism has ordered Bobby chained, gagged and beaten to prevent him from speaking. On top of all this the 8th amendment states "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

All of you advocates of Black history dust off the books that you only use for wall paper and read about the Dred Scott case and Supreme Court Justice Taney's decision at that time in 1857 then check out the way Bobby was arrested and look at what those pigs are doing to him now and see if you still think you're not a slave.

Bobby is on trial for very serious charges. He has been trying to cross examine witnesses whenever they mention his name. He has been doing the only thing he can do. Because of this he has been chained, gagged and beaten. The Pig Power Structure doesn't believe we're serious yet about our

desire for freedom and the power to control the destiny of our Black community. The pigs feel they can continue to openly trample on the constitutional and human rights of Black people with impunity. Eldridge Cleaver says "It is only that our resistance is under developed and it is our resistance that is under developed because the ruling class has arsenals of the materials of war to unleash upon us, and they're only using these timid materials at this particular time, because our resistance to their aggression has heretofore been timid."

Support the purposed exchange of U.S. prisoners of war held by the Vietnamese for our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and our Chairman, Bobby Seale. Demand that the U.S. government drop the trumped-up "Conspiracy" charges against the "Conspiracy 8" and that Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger be allowed to return to Hanoi, where they would be met

by our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver so that the three of them could discuss with the Vietnamese the freeing of Americans, now held prisoners of war, in exchange for the dropping of all charges against our Minister of Defense and founder Huey P. Newton and our Chairman Bobby Seale. This purposed freedom of Political Prisoners in exchange for Prisoners of war could only be ignored by a government that has no concern for its poor, its peace-loving, its non-white, and its soldiers, and even less concern for Peace.

The indifference of the United States government is the monster that gives validity to the need for the Black Panther Party's existence and the freedom of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
D.C.

BABYLON IS FULL OF HANGING JUDGES

The Chairman of the Black Panther Party, at the infamous Conspiracy 8 Trials in Chicago, Bobby Seale, called 'Adolph' Julius J. Hoffman, the judge, a racist and a fascist. Which he is. He has denied the people correct trials by due process of 'law'.

DENIED was due process in the case of comrade Rolando Montae Hearn, the Breakfast Co-ordinator, who feeds kids. This Jive, justice-weaving pig who presides over the case, says that his case is serious, and may require a penalty of 10 to 20 years. Right On, racist pig. Montae is charged with aggravated assault and strongarm robbery. Two of his alleged accomplices were put on probation. PROBATION! Can you dig this madness? -- We can't. This joke of a judge says that

Montae is too 'dangerous' on the streets. Montae's dangerous presence in the streets has caused 300 young kids to fall victim to hot nourishing breakfasts.

We hold that this attempt to incarcerate this comrade is in reality a political action of direct repression against the Black Panther Party, designed to cut down our Breakfast Programs, which are presently blooming over the city.

Montae has been bailed at \$10,000. There is no bail for probation. The Black Panther Party calls to all supportive veins and bodies in the Black colony and in the White "oppressor" country to contact the Philadelphia Branch Office.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

CLERGY IN SUPPORT OF CHAIRMAN BOBBY

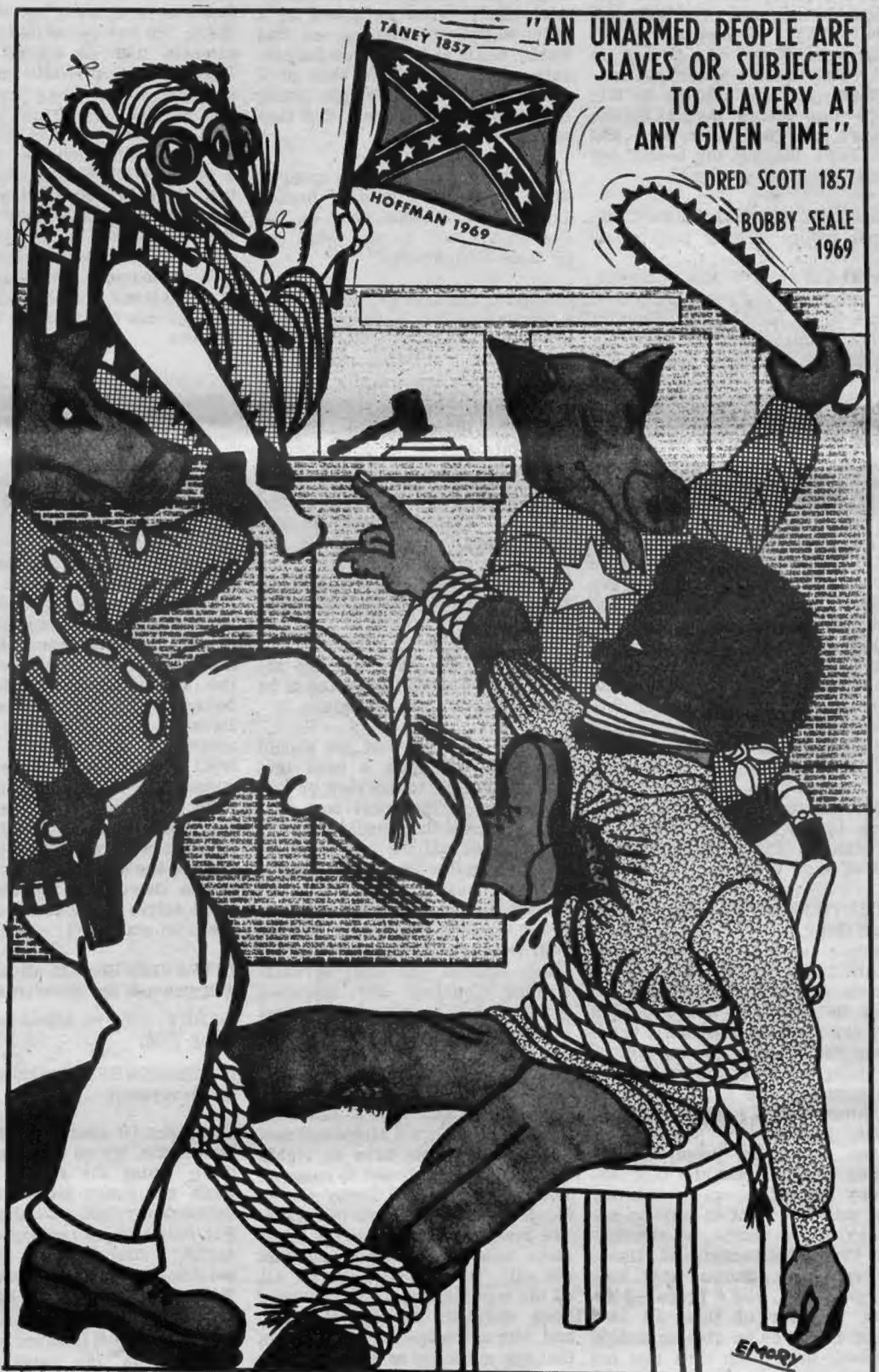
Dear Sir:

In recent weeks, the Bobby Seale case has been frequently reported in the press. At present, Mr. Seale is a prisoner in the Chicago jail on the transparently false assertion that he must be held to be available for trial. The trial in Chicago and the future trial in Connecticut are "conspiracy trials" - a charge originating in bogus "conspiracy laws" that are explicitly designed and enforced for the purpose of suppression of political dissent. And, the travesty of justice that is occurring in the Chicago courtroom is compounded in that Mr. Seale has been denied the lawyer of his own choosing. Mr. Seale's case makes very clear the extent to which local and federal authorities will use the police and the courts to oppress dissenters, especially Blacks. It is sheer hypocrisy at best for people to talk of "law and order" when the so-called defenders of law and order are engaged in a criminal assault on Mr. Seale and the Black Panthers. In fact, the Department of Justice is relating to the Panthers rather like the Department of

Defense is relating to the Vietnamese.

It was to bring attention to this situation that nine of us, including five clergy, sat in at the U.S. Marshal's office at the San Francisco Federal Building on September 16. At that time, Mr. Seale had been spirited away by the U.S. Marshals while his lawyers were obtaining a court order that he be held here. On October 16, the U.S. Commissioner sentenced us to one year's probation. In pronouncing sentence, the Commissioner said that this is a country of laws and not men; that Mr. Seale's transfer was a routine matter; and that as clergymen and community leaders, we should be especially careful to obey all laws.

While we did not contest the fact that we refused to leave the U.S. Marshal's office on September 16, we completely reject the dogma that one should obey all laws at all times, especially when something as obvious and unjust as the Seale affair is being perpetrated by the authorities themselves. To fail to act in such cases invites fascist totalitarianism.



The Fugitive Slave Laws of a century ago are just one example of a law that had to be violated in the name of a human society (and Mr. Seale is being treated like a slave). No healthy society can survive under the dictum often heard of late, "this is a society of laws, not men." People are the hearts blood of any human society. And, to suggest that clergy should be examples of servile obedience to any and all laws is to ignore the life of Jesus who was hung for doing what he believed had to

be done.

The oppression of the Black Panthers and of their leader, Mr. Seale, is a gross crime that calls out for unequivocal denunciation. We believe the Panthers are a genuine peoples organization that has been a constructive force in the Bay Area. In any case, everyone who opposes fascism in this country must actively oppose the use of police-state tactics on any minority group. The task before us is to put flesh on the words:

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!

Sincerely,

Miss Adrienne Fong, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam
Miss Sally Gore, Elder, Presbyterian Church
Father Philip Traynor
Father Joe Sonntag
Father Frank Rau
Father Tom Durkin
Rev. Philip Farnham
Mr. Steve Whidden, Elder, Presbyterian Church
Mr. Wade Hudson, Pacific School of Religion

Open Letter

FROM BOBBY'S WIFE ARTIE SEALE



MRS. BOBBY SEALE AND SON MALIK

The Chairman of the Black Panther Party was strapped and chained to a chair on the 24th floor of the Federal Building on Oct. 31, 1969 around 9:00 a.m. upon arriving from Cook County jail. The incidents that follow all took place before 10:00 a.m. courttime. Chairman Bobby Seale was told by the marshals that they were going to put rags into his mouth to make sure that he wouldn't talk in court. And that this was going to be done whether he liked it or not. Bobby Seale protested such an act, and thus there was a struggle. He was trying to explain to the marshals that being strapped and chained as he was, and then to be gagged along with having surgical bandages around his face would cause him to run a high temperature. He also explained that he had tonsillitis and having breath stay up 14 hours a day would make him very exhausted. At that point two marshals grabbed Bobby Seale's hair and another one grabbed his nose, and then attempted to stuff his mouth. He shut his mouth and after a minute or so he began to lose his breath. He tried to jerk his head, and in the process freed his head away, but was quickly subdued by the marshals. One of the other marshals grabbed Bobby's head in one hand and his nose with the other. Another marshal pressed on the Chairman's lips with a cloth until it began to hurt his teeth. Bobby kept his mouth closed as tightly as possible, and with his nose closed and his

mouth being closed he lost his breath again and surged backwards with all the weight he had. He jerked his head from side to side and finally he was able to free himself, so that he could breathe. He was about to pass out. At that point the marshals because of his complaint about tonsillitis and his fever, which the Cook County doctors know about decided to wrap his head up. These marshals wrapped Bobby's head up so tight that they saw Bobby Seale choke, they saw him lose his breath, and they saw him pass out. By this time it was nearly 10:00 a.m. And so the marshals rewrapped the surgical bandages this time taking it away from his throat area and putting it around his jaws and around the back of his neck. The bandages were equally as tight as before.

Bobby was brought into court around 10:10 a.m. He became dizzy and almost passed out in court. One marshal in particular by the name of Chestin Ross, who is in charge of Bobby, who is also commonly known around the Federal Building as Gorilla, deliberately tightened the straps around Bobby's arms and legs to cut off his circulation. The usual comment of the marshals is, "Well the judge told us to do this." One marshal sitting next to Bobby in the courtroom told Bobby that he almost called the judge in open court a son of a b--ch for treating Bobby the way he did because he wanted only to defend himself. Bobby went to sleep on the night

of Oct. 30, and woke up on the morning of Oct. 31 chained to his bed. The doctors were trying to give him an injection of a large dose of tranquilizers to make him hypnotized and in a trance or a daze so that he would be unable to think during court.

Section 1981 Title 42 of the U.S. government code states, "that no Black man will be discriminated against in any court, dealing with his legal defense." This law came into effect 100 years ago during the Reconstruction Period. The 5th amendment states, "that there will be no cruel and unusual punishment inflicted." Bobby Seale states, "I will not take any injections, furthermore if the marshals try in the future to stuff my mouth with rags or any other type of material I will bite their hands. I'm going to demand that my doctor come and give me complete examinations. Every man has a right to his constitutional rights to speak in behalf of himself, of his other constitutional rights to defend himself. These slick sliding words that the government and constitution use, are only means to cover this dirty filthy world because they have now violated another constitutional right.

DOWN WITH FASCISM
DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
FREE HUEY

Tom Hayden said one person gagged is enough, I say one person gagged is too many."

PRESS CONF.

CONT. FROM PAGE 3

And he made that abundantly clear to the court. He told the court time and time again, I am not representing Bobby Seale, I'm an attorney of record on a limited basis for the purpose so that we can have some liaison with the other seven defendants because they're all charged for conspiracy. The court knows that, the U.S. Attorney knows that, the U.S. Attorney had the nerve, the gall and the audacity to get up and tell the court two weeks ago, he said that if you permit Bobby Seale to defend himself, he said there will be a mistrial inside of two days. Well if this kind of mockery of justice that's going on under the semblance of due process of law in Chicago, if that's justice then I don't want to practice law under those circumstances.

INTERVIEWER 3: Do you think he really wants to try the case himself, or do you think he's waiting for you?

DAVID: Look! The history of A-

merica points out very clearly that anytime there's a Black man on trial with the White man, then the Black man hasn't gotten any rights. This is history that was written in the Reconstruction period. Bobby is a Black man and the man is a slave whether you accept it or not. We recognize that the pressmen, that the journalists of the world are no more than ideological servants for U.S. imperialism and U.S. fascism here and abroad. All the questions that you're asking the attorney can be cleared up by reading your own U.S. history. The man's rights have been violated because he's a slave in America. And a Black man has no rights that White racists are bound to respect. And that the only rights that they're going to respect is at the point of a gun. And what's happening to Bobby, we say that the American people will pay for that and if our blood has to be shed then we're prepared to do that.

That's all that there is to be said about that.

"FIGHTING FOR RIGHT"

The Mother of Black Panther Chairman, Bobby Seale expressed dismay over the chaining and gagging of her son, ordered by a racist and fascist, Julius 'Adolph' Hoffman, the presiding judge of the conspiracy 8 trial.

Bobby allegedly charged with conspiring to incite a riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, faces a 10 year sentence if convicted in a court controlled by racists and fascists and not a court controlled by the people.

At the news conference at Glide Memorial Church, Sunday, the Mother said, "I think it's terrible, Bobby is a wonderful son and always has been. I think he's fighting for right."

Later the Mother received a standing ovation when she addressed a crowd of over 1500 people who attended the services at Glide Memorial Church.

"I'm praying everyday that this will soon be over," Mother Seale told the congregation, which included many young revolutionary people.

What's happening to Bobby is a very clear example of what is happening to Black people and has happened to Black people for over 400 years. Chains, Shackles and gags. Demagoguery and Terror, behind the sacred doors of so-called U.S. justice. We call it fascism when chains, gags and fascist pigs



MRS. SEALE

are used to keep a man from exercising his constitutional right, the right to defend himself if he has no legal counsel.

We see "Adolph" Hoffman, Nixon and all their lackeys when they praise a rag with red, white and blue paint smeared in different directions, that fascism isn't only within the confines of America,

but fascism on the part of the U.S., is rampant on an international level.

So it's very clear that the true symbols of fascism is the American eagle and the American flag.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BE STRONG, BLACK MOTHER
John Seale

On The Breakfast Program

As you know, the Black Panther Party has initiated quite a few Community Breakfast for Children Programs. Meeting one of the basic needs in our community, feeding hungry children of all ethnic groups, because hunger like oppression knows no color. Every child growing up under the oppressed conditions of this decadent society must have adequate supplies of nutritional foods to insure his strength and most of all the development of his mind,

So this means that the people in the community will have to help with this problem.

First thing you must do is support the Breakfast Program--Physically support it. If you can't come to help with preparing the food tell your friends, your church, your B.S.U. etc. about it. Organize people to talk to the businesses in your community to donate to the program. Let him know that his business is supported by the community and he in turn should support

his community. If he doesn't, then you know just what type of person he is, an avaricious (greedy) businessman.

So those who want to serve the youth, contact the nearest Black Panther Party office or the nearest location of one of the Breakfast Programs, because that's what it's all about. Serving the people by serving the youth. Support the Breakfast program. Let him know that his business is supported by the community and he in turn should support

NATIONAL PROTEST

NOVEMBER 17 - 9:00 AM
FOLEY SQUARE, N.Y. CITY

TO FREE
THE PANTHER 21
AND ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS

DONATIONS FOR DEFENSE FUND
2026 7TH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
FOR INFORMATION CALL: 864-8951



DAVID HILLIARD,
CHIEF OF STAFF BLACK PANTHER PARTY

WHAT YOU ARE SPEAK SO LOUD I HARDLY HEAR ANYTHING YOU SAY

The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black people in America translated through Marxism-Leninism. When we review the past history of Black people in this country, we realize that after 400 years we are victims of the oppressive machinery that gags, binds and chains Black men who speak out in defense of their alleged constitutional rights.

Many people act as if they were surprised at what's happening to the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, but I think a careful examination of who our persecutors are will clear the minds of the masses of people that could not see through the so-called judicial smokescreen of justice. These people that tortured and gagged and chained Bobby are the descendants of pirates, Genocidal murderers of the Red Man; users of the atomic bomb upon the Japanese people. The enslavers and exploiters of Blacks in this country right up until this very day.

The Black Panther Party since its inception has always used the weapon of example to educate the masses. When the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, sent a delegation of armed Panthers to the California state Capitol this was a process of educating the people by example that Blacks did not have their rights guaranteed by the constitution to bear arms in defense of their lives against racist mobs of fascists in or out of uniform. So that Huey P. Newton made the statement "an unarmed people are either enslaved or subjected to slavery at any given time." So given Bobby's situation it is crystal clear what he meant.

I think we should get back to the legality of the U.S. constitution

in respect to Black people. The rhetoric of the constitution was never in the first paragraph meant for people of African descent. After violating Bobby's 1st amendment rights, his 8th amendment rights on through the 6-13-14 amendments it seems to me the whole damn thing is invalid in regards to Blacks in particular.

As long as we are hung up in theory alone, without ever testing for ourselves the reality of the laws of the courts of this system, we must expect more Bobby Seales, more cruel and inhumane treatment. We must remember this country is run by a slave oligarchy and brigandish criminals who have no respect for its people, be they Black or White; its primary interest is capitalism. So when we talk about the ideology of the Black Panther Party we are talking about the experiences of Blacks in racist, fascist America.

It's sometimes hard to understand how people react to the term fascist. They think the fascists left when the Hitlerites were defeated. I relate to what Eldridge says, "that the American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism." The American historian has a way of justifying this system by using Germany as the most vicious enemy against mankind, this is perhaps true for the people of Jewish descent. But when we really check this shit out, starting with the genocide of the Indians, the 50,000,000 Black people slaughtered by the oppressors when taken against their will at the point of guns, over 400 years ago, right here in America. Then reminding ourselves of the genocidal and imperialist war against the Vietnamese people, the burning of

Blacks on the sacred cross of Christianity. Then it becomes easier to relate to the chieftains of fascism, imperialism, racism; and Bobby Seale's demand for his right to self defense.

How criminal and guilty these people must be to go to the last rung on the ladder of injustice, in the gross violation of the Chairman of the Black Panther Party's human rights; at a time when the entire oppressed peoples of the world are raising up in arms against them. So for the American people we outline your first political education class. The criminal hall of pig justice, the courts where Black men are railroaded from California to Chicago, because these pigs that judge other men and women; particularly Black men and women, are the guilty ones.

The laws that they try to make us respect are oppressive laws, slave laws, laws that protect them and persecute us. I think that above and beyond the old evil, crooked judge and gag, Bobby left a scar on the minds of all those who relate to words without asking questions.

So we say Right On Chairman Bobby, for you have without making a sound exposed the ugly, fascist racist, farce of American Patriotism starring Judge J.J. Hoffman, the peoples enemy number 1.

Remind that old racist mother-fucker Hoffman, to tell the pigs at Chicago O'hare airport to put back up the sign that says, "what you are, speak so loud I hardly hear anything you are saying."

Chief of Staff,
David Hilliard

PIGS RUN AMUCK IN L.A.

FEWER PIGS MORE JUSTICE

The pig forces (the present police department) in the last few months in San Francisco has added some 500 more police to its force of oppression. 450 of these police can be seen in the Black community, these pigs control our streets brutalizing, murdering, and harassing our people. Black people have to have an I.D. Card to go to the store, then you are picked up for suspicion of robbery or for stealing a car, if you are not shot in the back for looking like you might run, a clear case of this was our Brother Joe Linthorne, who was shot in cold blood by a fascist pig cop in Hunter's Point, the attempted murder of Jimmy Connors who was shot by the Tac-Squad, Alioto's community imperialists, those punks are the big businessmen and

other exploiters, ARMED PIGS. We are now moving the petition all over San Francisco, if you are interested in signing or circulating the petition, if you can get a group of interested people who would like to know more about the Community Control of Police petition please contact us.

1. We want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our Black community.

ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE WANT TO DETERMINE THEIR DESTINIES, THE MEXICANS, CHICANOS, CHINESE AMERICANS, POOR WHITE WORKING CLASS, THE FASCIST PIGS KEEP US ALL OPPRESSED FOR THE SAME REASONS, AND WE WILL USE ANY MEANS NECESSARY TO LIBERATE OUR PEOPLE

While out in the community to attempt to open a community house in Watts, John Washington, better known as Long John, and myself, Michael Pennewell, and another brother were vamped on by racist fascist pigs from 77th.

While crossing the street at 84th and Main, when the pigs noticed who we were they jumped out of their patrol cars with drawn guns stating "those are the niggers who lead the demonstration". We were then told to get up against the fence. While being searched I asked what we were being arrested for. I was hit by their sticks, some other brothers saw what was happening and came to investigate, they were also searched and then told to move on or they would be arrested. Also at that time another pig car arrived and grabbed a brother by the name of Charles James and chained him. At that time Long John and myself were also chained and put in a pig car. We still had not been told what we were being kidnapped for. We were taken to 77th pig station, to the back and beaten in the stomach by Pig R. S. Phillips, Serial No. 14401, until we could not walk. Still hand-cuffed we were taken

inside to a pig sergeant by the name of Murray who told Pig Phillips to take me to get medical attention.



LONG JOHN

and tell the doctor I had slipped and fell and hurt my leg. I was treated for my leg, nothing was done for my ribs where I was kicked several times while handcuffed on the ground. Pig Phillips told Long John he was saving one bullet for him, and four for me. After two hours of harassment I was told I was being arrested for driving with a revoked license even

though I was not anywhere around a car or in a car; Long John for interference; Charles James for being drunk, we were then booked.

Additional harassment of the day was—two brothers were painting the "Toure" Community Breakfast Center for Children at 1100 W. Exposition. They were arrested and taken to University Pig Department and beaten because they asked why they were being arrested for wanting to feed hungry children.

The pigs have attempted to stop the Breakfast Program in Southern California ever since it has started. The two brothers were booked for selling papers in the street, they were interviewed and threatened by the F.B.I. at court today, November 4, 1969. They were asked how many doors to each house and office, how many guns were kept in each place and where did the Deputy Minister of Defense live. If they gave the information they could get all the charges dropped. No information was given.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

M. Pennewell

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Dear Sirs:

I am a White subscriber to The Black Panther. I want to say how very glad I am for the existence of The Black Panther Party and The Black Panther newspaper.

I am twenty-one years old and have been undergoing progressive politicalization for approximately the last five years. I have been through many stages of awareness during this politicalization, from absolute political ignorance and apathy; to being a so-called "liberal", filled to the brim with sympathy and good intentions, but not much on action; to my present

stage, activist, radical, revolutionary, whatever you want to call it. I have held to many differing philosophies, sworn allegiance to many leaders, believed in and worked for many different "causes" but I have always come to feel eventually that these philosophies and causes are aspiring to much but accomplishing nothing, the leaders only spouting rhetoric and ending up betraying their followers.

Having "discovered" the Panthers, with their philosophy of the people, backed up with action; their

leaders who speak the truth, straight, rhetoricless truth; leaders who are of the people, who do not set themselves up in mansions in the clouds and forget their origins and their people; having seen all this, I believe I have at last settled upon something basic and fundamental, something good and true, worthy of believing in, which won't betray my faith. I hope that doesn't sound too idealistic and naive.

I have witnessed the pig conspiracy which is currently loose in the country, the conspiracy to

put an end, for once and for all, to the Panthers, to any group which dares to preach manhood for the Black man, and a people's revolution. I have been somewhat discouraged by the evidences of this conspiracy, the exiling of Eldridge Cleaver, the imprisonment of Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, I have been discouraged by this, for I know that the pigs currently hold the power and will use all this power to silence the truth. But I have come to realize that no matter what the pigs do, the revolution will never be killed, not as long

as there are men alive who will know the truth, speak the truth and pass it on to others.

I have been enormously discouraged by the bulls--t that has been going down in Babylon but my spirits are lifted when I read The Black Panther and know the Panthers are still hard at work.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY

Joe Don Robbins

STATEMENT FROM CHAIRMAN BOBBY

October 31, 1969

By the United States Constitution and Section 1982, Title 42 of the United States Government Code, I, Bobby Seale, demand my constitutional rights. I have a right to object and file motions at certain points in this trial as one of the defendants who is without representation of my attorney, Charles R. Garry, whom I've been denied the services of.

My first attempt to defend myself was after opening statements. Judge Hoffman did not recognize my right. I sat down and from there attempted to represent myself. I made request motions and attempted to argue those motions no longer, in any case, than other lawyers for the government and other lawyers for the other (7) seven defendants.

I have been erroneously accused of "deliberately" trying to "disrupt the trial." This is not so. I sit and listen to witness after witness testify until one mentions my name, testifying against me, and I stand and object on the grounds that my constitutional rights are being violated where I have a right to defend myself and my only lawyer of record, Charles R. Garry, whom I made agreement with to represent

and speak for me. To say I can't attempt to represent myself from the beginning of the trial is contemptuous of my 6th Amendment rights. In the process of arguing my motions and request and objecting at certain points and denouncing lies and mischaracterizations by the prosecuting government and the judge of evidence, I know this is not disruption but the trial continuing with me making requests, demands, motions, etc., and arguing them in behalf of my own self defense. The court chose Kunstler, not me.

The judge tries to use trick questions so that the record will indicate that I was fool enough to fall for his racist maneuvering. When he asks me to shake my head "up and down" or "left to right", and I do not respond either way, he erroneously states into the record that I supposedly want to disrupt the trial. This is not the case on my part. I'll answer him. I always have, gagged or not, that I want to represent my own self which was indicated from the beginning of the trial when after being asked by means of the judge's very statements, "Does any other lawyer

or the DEFENDANTS want to make an opening statement to the jury?"

I responded by getting up to make an opening statement. I attempted then to defend myself, and the judge never asked me or tried to investigate that attempt on my own part to defend my own self in this trial.

I have never said not one word about "disrupting" the trial. I have never said anything about "stopping" the trial. Numerous times I have sat and listened to whole testimonies, even for days upon end. But now the government and the judge are seemingly working together to say that my right to object and file request, make requests and motions, and to argue those motions and requests, is me trying to "disrupt" the trial. My lawyer, Charles R. Garry, I've been denied the services of. Then any attempt to defend myself by making requests and motions and arguments of all kinds is exactly for that right to defend myself, not to stop or disrupt.

BOBBY SEALE



November 2, 1969

STATEMENT FROM CHARLES R. GARRY

The crisis in this trial has been precipitated by the gross violation by the Government and the trial judge of the fundamental constitutional rights of Mr. Bobby Seale, a Black American citizen, and National Chairman of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. Seale's fundamental American constitutional right to counsel of his own choice was violated by the refusal of the Government and the trial judge to agree to adjourn the commencement of the trial until the seriously ill counsel of his own choice, the undersigned Charles R. Garry, could attend. Shortly before the trial commenced on September 24, we formally represented to the court that my doctors and I anticipated I would be available for trial on November 15, 1969.

Once the trial had started, Mr. Seale's fundamental American constitutional right to defend himself, which he then demanded to be afforded him, was unlawfully and without any cause in law, denied to him by the Government and the trial judge, and in flagrant violation of the Constitution the Government and the trial judge proceeded with the trial.

Furthermore, Mr. Seale was then and still is inhumanly and cruelly



CHARLES R. GARRY

punished, insulted and degraded by the Government and the trial judge solely for attempting to assert a right which every American citizen has, to defend himself against accusations of crime.

Accordingly there is now only one way out of the present crisis in the Chicago trial consistent with the mandate of the Constitution that every American, Black or White, is entitled to equal justice under the law: The Government must forthwith confess error in open court that Mr. Seale's constitutional right to counsel of his own choice was violated by the refusal to postpone the commencement of the trial until counsel of his own choice could be present, and must voluntarily dismiss the present case as having been irretrievably prejudiced against Mr. Seale and all his co-defendants.

Meanwhile, Mr. Seale must be immediately accorded by the Government and the trial judge his full constitutional and statutory right to defend himself; he must be released forthwith from all physical bonds, gags and shackles; he must be released from all restraints upon his liberty so that he may defend himself, and full and adequate apologies and compensation must be made by the

Government to Mr. Seale for the brutal, cruel, unusual and unconstitutional punishment inflicted upon him during the past two weeks of this trial.

With respect to my personal participation in this trial, whether now or at some later date, even if I were physically and medically able to take part in a major trial-- which I am not, according to my physicians -- my participation could in no way cure the fundamental constitutional infirmities with which it is already plagued. Accordingly, participation by me in this trial, long after it has started, would violate my basic professional responsibilities, and might well be deemed malpractice.

If this proposed course of action is not immediately implemented, all avenues under the Constitution and laws of the United States will at once be pursued to enforce and protect not only Mr. Seale's fundamental constitutional rights but the integrity of the mandate and promise of our Constitution that all Americans, Black and White, are entitled to equal justice and freedom under the law.

Charles R. Garry

Women's International League For Peace And Freedom

Concern over the persistent pattern of violence exerted by police against the Black Panther Party was voiced unanimously by officers and members of Northern California Branches of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at their October regional meeting in San Jose, California. WILPF acted in response to numerous reports of official violence against members of the Black Panther Party in their headquarters and homes.

For 54 years members of WILPF have worked for the solution of social, psychological, economic and political problems - national and international - by non-violent means. Precisely because of this commitment we object to constitutional processes of law and justice being outrageously violated by police assaults against the headquarters and members of the Black

Panthers and other militant groups.

News media across the United States report increasing attacks against Black militants. The Southern Patriot, published by the Southern Conference Education Fund, printed the following facts compiled by the Black Panthers:

As of last August, 21 Black Panthers had been murdered, 15 by police. Scores had been shot and beaten by police. In the same period, there had been 238 arrests of their leaders in 18 cities and bail bonds set for their multiple cases had totalled two and a half million dollars. As of late August, 33 Black Panther leaders, men and women, were in jail,--either held without bail or unable to make bail of \$100,000 or more. In no case were they held "innocent until proven guilty". Raids on eight

or more of their offices, conducted by federal, state or local police have been made without legal justification.

Therefore, WILPF of Northern California calls on United States citizens, everywhere, to recognize and support the right of Black people, Brown people and Red people, to have a radical organization which works for their rights including equal protection under law, free of threats of brutal attacks, imprisonment and murder.

We further call on our fellow citizens to work for a human society based on peace and freedom with justice for all.

Mrs. Jean Crockett, President for Northern California Region
Alice Hamburg, President
San Francisco Branch

OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE

Dear People,

I'm a "straight", white chick from Oregon, whose dad just retired from the Air Force last year. I've read the proposal concerning the release of American prisoners-of-war in exchange for the release of Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton (UPI). I'm very excited about this for two reasons. One is that while in the Air Force I knew several POW (prisoners-of-war) families. I feel they deserve everything that everyone can do for them. Secondly, I lived in South Carolina for two years and witnessed the extreme apathetic condition the American people are in concerning the poor, especially the Blacks. I

applaud the Black students, especially, for acting as an American conscience and bringing the injustices (that we all suffer, but more so the Blacks) into plain, unmistakable view.

I do hope that you succeed in your "struggle against Fascism". I'm planning to write to the State Department in Washington urging the government to realize the importance of your proposal and take action immediately to free Seale, Newton, and the prisoners-of-war.

Peace be with you,
Charlotte Yeoman

WOMENS LIBERATION GROUP UP — TIGHT

A Women's action is planned to support the five Black Panther women now in jail in Connecticut, and to raise the issues and contradictions of a repressive judicial system.

A mass demonstration on November 22 will be held in New Haven, Connecticut by a coalition of Women's Liberation groups and the People to Free the Panthers. Women from New Haven, New York, Boston, Washington, Maryland, and New Jersey and their Brothers in the movement, as well as all concerned members of the community, will rally in front of the New Haven Court House at noon and proceed from there to the jail where the women are being held.

Five Panther women, three of whom are pregnant, have been held political prisoners for five months. Arrested along with eight Panther Brothers, on charges of conspiracy and murder, they have been held without bail, kept in isolation, refused exercise privileges, had their reading material indiscriminately censored, and been denied visitors outside their immediate families and lawyers present at the arraignment seven months ago. This means that their right to interview lawyers crucial to the preparation of their defense has been denied in direct violation of their constitutional rights.

Furthermore, the three Panther women who are pregnant will deliver their babies under heavy armed guard. Unless they can provide a home considered "suitable" by the State Welfare Department their babies will be taken away from them. In fact, this means that their babies will be put in foster homes and the women, even if found innocent, will have to prove a stable family relationship and a stable income in order to get their own children back.

Women's Liberation refutes the State's definition of "family" and a suitable home environment for children. We protest the unhealthy conditions under which the pregnant women are being detained; lack of adequate exercise, improper diet (Rose Smith weighed 132 pounds when she was jailed, now in her seventh month of pregnancy she weighs 133 pounds), and the denial of the women's right to be examined and cared for by a doctor of their choice.

To hold these women under these conditions while they are still in pre-trial status makes a mockery of the "presumption of innocence" which is their constitutional guarantee.

We link the issue of these Panther women to the large problem all women face under this unjust, capitalist system. All women in jail are political prisoners! Women's Liberation groups in New York, New Haven, Washington, New Jersey, Boston, and Maryland are researching and bringing to the public the prejudicial, male chauvinist laws that imprison women. These laws, along with our demand for the release of all the Panthers and all the women now in jail will appear on leaflets distributed in all the above states.

Women's Liberation and People to Free the Panthers invite all our Brothers and Sisters across the country to support this rally. Come to New Haven if you can; hold your own support rally if you can't come.

western union

Telegram

SFC404 1117P EST OCT 30 69 CTA454

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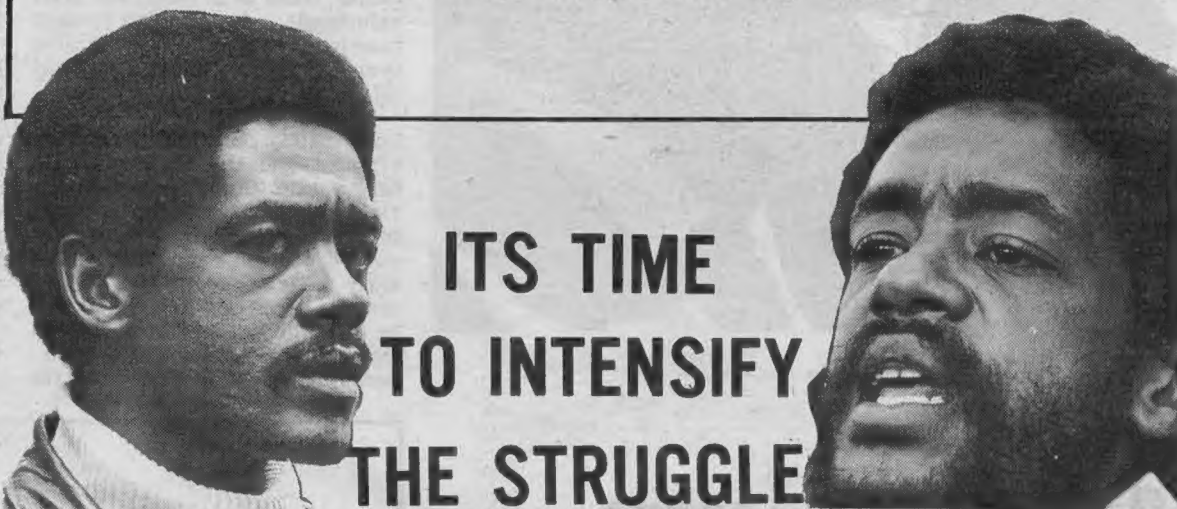
BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTER

SFRAN

DUPLICATE OF TELEGRAM TELEPHONE

IN LIGHT OF THE CONSISTANT CRY BY GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR LAW AND ORDER THE NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE FOR AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM CONDEMS THE CONDUCT OF JUDGE JULIUS HOFFMAN AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THE BRUTAL DEGRADING ILLEGAL, AND IMMORAL TREATMENT OF BOBBIE SEAL CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PRESENTLY ON TRIAL IN CHICAGO ILLINOIS. ASIDE FROM THE CONSISTANT DENIAL OF BOBBIE SEAL'S DUE PROCESS RIGHTS HIS RIGHT TO BE REPRESENTED BY COUNCIL OF HIS CHOICE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND JUDGE HOFFMAN HAVE BEATEN, SHACKLED GAGGED, AND CHAINED HIM TO HIS CHAIR. THIS BRUTAL, FASCIST TREATMENT RENDERS THE CONCEPT OF FAIR TRIAL AND EQUAL JUSTICE A CHEAP AND CRUEL SHAM. WE THEREFORE DEMAND THAT THE PROSECUTION OF SEAL AND HIS FELLOW DEFENDANTS BE IMMEDIATELY DISMISSED THAT JUDGE HOFFMAN BE REMOVED FROM THE BENCH PENDING THE IMPEACHMENT HEARINGS AND THAT THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE IN CHICAGO AND JUDGE HOFFMAN BE INVESTIGATED AS CRIMINALS UNDER TITLE 18 SECTION 242 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE FOR VIOLATION OF BOBBIE SEALS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. FINALLY WE URGE THAT A FEDERAL GRAND JURY BE CONVENED IMMEDIATELY TO INDICT JUDGE HOFFMAN, UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FORAN, UNITED STATES ATTORNEY SCHULTZ AND OTHERS CONNECTED WITH THE PROSECUTION OF THIS CASE. JUDGE HOFFMAN AND HIS COHORTS SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY INDICTED UNDER TITLE 18 SECTION 241 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE IN THAT THEY HAVE CONTINUOUSLY AND WILLFULLY CONSPIRED TO DEPRIVE BOBBIE SEAL AND THE OTHER DEFENDANTS OF THEIR RIGHTS AS CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES IN A VIOLENT CALCULATED AND BRUTAL MANNER

STAFF AND STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NEW MOBILIZATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM 683 MCALLISTER ST.



**ITS TIME
TO INTENSIFY
THE STRUGGLE**

AACFRA PROTEST FOR BOBBY

The American Association to Combat Fascism, Racism and Anti-Semitism sent a wire today to Attorney General John Mitchell protesting Judge Julius J. Hoffman's act of chaining and gagging Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, at the trial of the eight charged with "conspiracy" in the demonstrations during the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago.

The full telegram follows:

Attorney General John Mitchell
Justice Department
Washington, D.C.

American Committee to Combat Fascism, Racism and Anti-Semitism, representing 200 organizations, shocked at sight of Bobby Seale being chained and gagged in Chicago trial.

This unprecedented atrocity is a picture reminiscent of Nazism. Call upon you to take steps to have Judge Julius Hoffman removed and to protect Bobby Seale's constitutional rights to have trial delayed until his attorney can defend him or to allow Seale to defend himself.

Simon Federman
President

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

I have just recently finished reading the account of the latest atrocities perpetrated against our Chairman Bobby Seale. The fascist elements of this jive ass capitalist nation have not only seen fit to deprive Bobby of his right to attorney but has also seen fit to chain and gag him so as to ensure his not voicing any sort of opinion as to the validity of the testimony of the prosecutions witnesses. This is just a prime example of the sort of justice that has been meted out to Black people for the last 400 years. The use of chains is reminiscent of the days of slavery, which it should be fairly obvious that pig judge Hoffman is trying to re-engage.

Well right on, Brother Bobby is a man of intense revolutionary spirit and he will not be forced into subjection by the reactionary tactics of an a-- backwards homosexual such as Hoffman. In fact quite the opposite has happened. In the face of increasing oppres-

sion Bobby has intensified his struggle for freedom. He will continue to do so as long as he is able.

It is obvious to the Party that this is only part of a systematic plot to do away with the Panther Party by eliminating its leadership. Therefore, it is up to us to bring this to the attention of the masses which we so faithfully serve by setting up such things as Free Breakfast Programs, Liberation Schools, Free Medical Centers, Collecting Clothes for the Young Children of the Community. We must intensify the struggle to a point which it has never before reached. Without the backing of the people we are no longer the Vanguard and we are not effective. We must turn to the people for the support needed to free our revolutionary brothers.

POWER TO THE REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS AND POWER TO THE REVOLUTION.

Motherf--k Nixon and the capitalist elements of this vulturistic nation. These reactionary elements realize that the time of their demise is approaching so they are waging a last desperate struggle to eliminate the Vanguard Party. Well right on motherf--kers we are prepared to deal with you in a fashion that is becoming to anyone who would dare to put their own personal gain before the needs of the people. The armed wrath of the people will deal out a just punishment for the likes of Bone Nose Nixon and Judge Adolph Hoffman and the rest of the reactionary forces of this nation dedicated to the sole proposition that all oppressed people are to used to satisfy the vulturistic tendencies of their greed.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C., N. Y.
Michael Roy

DES MOINES PIG DEPT. ONCE AGAIN SHOW THEIR INHUMANITY TOWARD THE PEOPLE

On October 26, 1969--about 11:00 p.m., "four workers" and a mother of two were beaten, harassed, and jailed on trumped-up charges, in addition to being viciously maced.

This unjust act took place at an avaricious businessman's store (Farley's Market--29th & Forest) and was sparked by an off-duty "Rent-A-Pig," Herbert W. Perry-Sgt. Detective Bureau - Des Moines Police Department, 1811-59th St. (279-8737), who falsely accused sister Brenda Humbert of shoplifting. When his allegation was challenged by Brenda and others involved, Mr. Rent-a-pig quickly inked, "You're under arrest."

At this point, this mad man went completely wild, shoving brother Lonnie and pulling his gun to shoot him. He further harassed the brothers and sisters and ordered the store door locked until the police force (about 4 squad cars and one patty-wagon) arrived for the "big arrest."

When the "officers of injustice" arrived, they began pushing the brothers and sisters around, they became especially angry when they

could not find proper evidence of shoplifting. These pigs became so viciously possessed with madness that they sprayed the sisters and brothers with mace to further subdue them. When brother Walker inquired on the scene about the unjust arrests, he was quickly maced and hurled into the patty-wagon just for inquiring (as a citizen) about the arrest of the brothers and sisters.

Such is "Justice and Rights" in Des Moines. We wonder what happened to that famous clause: "INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY"! People have a right to be treated as human beings not dogs or subhumans, even if they are suspected of some "alleged crime." The Des Moines Police Dept. had better take heed: "IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE"

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the

general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non-functional in relation to the status of the poor in society."

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect rules that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men." Huey P. Newton

or face the consequences of their arrogance toward the people.

Workers must understand that this type of oppression will continue to take place, unless sharp struggle against such brutality is waged in a united way!

It seems quite apparent that "those in power" will continue to support the vicious and inhumane acts perpetrated against "workers" by civil servants who have grown arrogant toward the "people" and arrogant in their service

to the people.

The charges are listed below:

Brenda Humbert--age 19--Employed at Dial Finance-Data processing Edit.
D.P.Q. by loud and profane language
Injury to city property
Resisting Arrest
Shoplifting under \$20.00 Bond \$800.00

Linda Walker--age 20--last employed at Meredith as a Job Specialist--she just had a baby
D.P.Q. by loud and profane language
Resisting arrest
Damage to city property
Interfering with duties of an officer Bond \$400.00

Paul Walker--age 18--employed at Sears as Auto Mechanic
D.P.Q. by loud and profane language
Interfering with duties of an officer
Damage to city property
Resisting arrest Bond \$400.00

Lonnie Bibbins--age 23--Employed--Laborer
D.P.Q. by loud and profane language
Interfering with duties of an officer
Damage to city property
Resisting arrest Bond \$600.00

Arraignment will be next Tuesday November 4, 1969 - 1:30 p.m. Municipal Court East 1st and Court Ave. All have been released on bonds totaling to \$2,200.00. Let's support these brothers and sisters by sending letters to: Governor Robert Ray Human Rights Commission State Civil Rights Commission Chief of Police

Civil Liberties Union--asking for total investigation and forward a carbon copy of said letter to Black Mobile Street Workers Association 1210 University, Des Moines, Iowa 50314.

We must stop this oppression of the people by "Civil Servants who refuse to serve and respect the people..."

SEIZE THE TIME!

D.C. INTERVIEWED BY UNIV. OF TEXAS NEWSPAPER, THE RAG

Field Marshal Don Cox is one of the few members of the Black Panther Central Committee still out of jail. Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, and many lesser-known Panthers are imprisoned or in exile for their uncompromising dedication to Black dignity and self-determination. The Panthers who are "free" still find time to support their brothers. Cox was in town to speak at a rally for railroaded SNCC organizer Lee Otis Johnson.

that anarchistic adventuristic activity is in jail on \$100,000 'cause he is alleged to have kicked someone and caused some injuries. This is all part of that same pattern.

Not just against Black people but against anybody who steps off that little red, white, and blue path, they gonna send those pigs in there, hit you upside the head; they gonna spray mace in your face, and they gonna take you to those fascist jails and put you in those concentration camps and prisons.

DON: Let's talk about the organization for a minute. The Black Panther Party itself closed down membership and stopped establishing new chapters back in January, January 17. And we began to purge ourselves of the undesirable elements, the opportunistic elements, those people who were using the Party as the base for their own personal gain. So in numbers of Panthers we have managed to clean house and reduce them. However, the people that are left are the truly dedi-

hated, there's a total of six Breakfast Programs as of this time, and only one of them is a Panther Breakfast Program. The rest of them the people instituted, following our example, and that's what our job is all about.

RAG: The Kerner Report concluded that America is moving toward two societies, one Black, one White, separate and unequal. Would you comment on that?

DON: Right. It's in the interests of the power structure, of the pigs, sitting up there in the White House, of the Rockefellers, the Hunts, and the DuPonts, the Super Pigs, to propagate the madness of racism and try to convince people that it's a race struggle, that, yeah, the problem is White racism, so you niggers go to work on that. As long as we concentrate our efforts dealing strictly with racism, we're not really dealing with the problem of exploitation and oppression. You see, racism itself was developed as a tool to divide all the oppressed people and get them fighting one another, see, to take the steam away from the real problem, the capitalists, the pigs, the Hunts, Melons, DuPonts, etc., who are reaping the profits of all the people's labor regardless of color. You see, it's in their interest to convince everyone, both Black and White, that it's a race struggle. The problem of the Black is the White racism, so you go to work on that. And the example of the reverse is in Pittsburgh where the Blacks were demanding work and instead of the avaricious businessmen, the construction bosses, the owners of the construction companies, giving jobs to Black people, what they did was to get together with the lying, demagogic politicians and came up with a scheme to turn the White workers against the Black workers and they're still raking off the top. So they closed down all the work, all the construction, and then pointed to the Blacks and said, "Well, it's the niggers that's causing all the trouble". So the White workers went out vamping on Black workers. They were mad at Black people.

Again, fostering racism as a means to maintain their positions. So we recognize racism for what it is, as a tool used to divide all the oppressed people. And we recognize that exploitation and oppression touches people regardless of color, be they Black, White, Red, Yellow, or Brown. And once we can get rid of this xenophobia relating to racism all the oppressed people will be able to join hands and we will have our American Revolution Number Two.

Narcotics And The Illegitimate Capitalists

In the last two-three years the flow of narcotics in Jamaica LL, has engulfed the youth and young people ranging from the ages of 12 to 30 on up. A very significant feature about the sudden flow in a two or three year span is that the traffic consists of hard dope, "heroin" while the likes of reefer or hashy (which are not considered hard or habit forming drugs, has grown very very scarce.) The pig (politicians, D.A.'s and the local pig cop) who put the garbage here know that heroin is the most commonly used hard drug, and the quickest drug to stepping up the genocide (systematic murder of a race) of our people. Every day some Black person dies from an over dose of something, or a disease from dirty needles, if not in Jamaica in some Black colony in Babylon (America). It happens to the female sex as well as male. This flow in Jamaica has come about so ferociously that it captured over 3/4 of the lumpen proletariat (hustlers) in one way or the other. Some have been seduced and are now called Junkies or addicts. The remaining lumpens who at one time confessed to be "So hipped to the White man's game, and knew how to make a fast buck off him (the 'man') are now the ones classified by the people as 'Enemies Without'. I mean you had brothers who knew every angle that they were forced to learn in the wretched colony, now know only one angle of "so-called" hustling. And that's dope peddling. Former pimps, con-men, burglars, stickup artists who were known in the colony as 'Big Times' who were serving "natural" death are now either addicts or worse, petty peddlers, selling narcotics to the young bloods who they used to tell about how to look out for the "man." These same illegitimate capitalist who have been to jail, these same cool cats, fast eddies have all been co-opted by the very system they at one time were fighting against, directly or indirectly. They have been co-opted in such a way that now they help to commit genocide against the people.

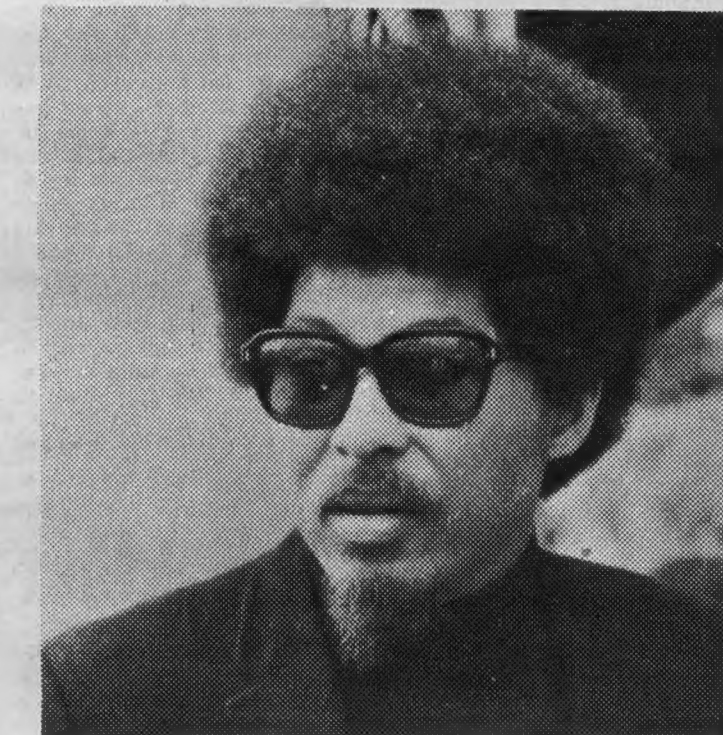
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Jamaica Branch
N.Y. State
Brother Ramo

RAG: Do you see frame-ups like the Bobby Seale arrest and Lee Otis' political bust as a coordinated nation wide effort to crush the Black militant groups?

DON: I would change one word there. To stop ANY people who are moving to implement changes within the community. There is a nation wide conspiracy on the part of the power structure and its lackeys like J. Edgar Hog, Mayor Daley in Chicago, and Mayor Fascioso Mussolini Alloto in San Francisco; there's definitely a conspiracy nation wide to stop that. Bobby Seale is a prime example of that. Our Chairman of the Black Panther Party who was kidnapped.

The FBI vamped on him in the streets with no warrant and arrested him on the promise that they would be sent a warrant--which is clearly illegal, a violation of his constitutional rights and his rights as a human being supposedly walking the streets of a free country. The case of Lee Otis Johnson can be equated to the same type of repression used against people who are working in the community. Thirty years' imprisonment for one marijuana cigarette that was planted in the first place. It's all part of the same pattern. The thing of it is the repression used against the Black Panther Party is at a much higher level. Say for instance, a sister in Connecticut held on \$100,000 bail on a charge of renting a car on a credit card that had expired. The car was overdue. And she did this in another state, so there was an additional charge of crossing state lines. And her bail is \$100,000, so the thing has been raised to a higher level. There are 21 Panthers in jail in New York indicted on a conspiracy to blow up a flower garden and department stores. \$100,000 bail each.

There were 13 Black brothers arrested in Philadelphia last week on some kind of conspiracy charges. I don't know just what they are, but they're all in jail on \$100,000 bail each. I notice one of those politically misguided SDSers in Chicago participating in



RAG: Have you encountered a lot of personal harassment since you became associated with the Panthers?

DON: All Panthers are subject to harassment on a day-to-day basis, but we are aware that really to get out here on a full-time basis you have to come to some of those decisions and crossroads before you become active--you know that's part of the consequences for your activities. You stay a step ahead of them--trying to keep yourself in a position where they can't vamp on you for any kind of technicality and they just have to come out into the open with their fascism and frame you and then you can use that as an educational tool to raise the consciousness of the masses of people.

RAG: Would you say the Black Panthers and freedom organizations in general are growing in spite of the harassment--or maybe because of it?

cated revolutionaries and the work in education internally has been intensified, so our effect on the community has increased, and the number of those people who support and relate to our programs are growing day by day. Coming to Austin, Texas, is a clear-cut example of that. In trying to relate to the community in a concrete fashion and to speak to their needs, pointing out the contradictions in the society, in February we instituted a Free Breakfast Program in Oakland, California--to feed hungry children before they attended school. The first day of the Free Breakfast Program there were 20 children. Today we're feeding approximately 50,000 nationwide and we're trying to up that to about a quarter of a million by the end of the semester. And I come to Austin, Texas, and I discover that the people here have moved on a Free Breakfast Program of their own. This points out to us that we're definitely moving in the right direction when the people move on the programs that we institute. That means that they relate to them. Also, in Man-



MEETING THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

In attempting to meet the basic needs of the people, the traditional bodies of support, and a not too supportive body, moved to destroy all hopes of establishing Free Breakfast Programs in that area. These bodies are by no means representative of the people. They are entities of profit, and human properties of fascism, making a vain attempt to alter the inevitable direction that the people see the vanguard taking.

Included is a copy of a letter that was sent around by some of our own avaricious hogs of Seventh St. in South Philly, who acted in standard pig manner, by lying to the people. When the BPP responded with a leaflet, the pigs retreated. We believe that the truth

is on our side, for we are revolutionaries, and we have nothing to fear. These sniveling clowns wouldn't dare identify themselves. The reactionaries sent around another letter, signed by some Philly fascist who denounced our program, but wouldn't institute one, because the program was sponsored and conducted by some 'Militant Group' (?).

Meanwhile, in South Philly, 4th & Washington Sts., we were dealing with petitions of the people's support of the Free Breakfast Program, when the place where we intended to host the program reacted with a notice to the people, which was a religious rejection, but by larger content, political. All too many times has the

church given Black people useless metaphysical salvation, with no food, in addition to oppressive politics. The church and this decadent capitalist system go hand in hand, like holy water and hydrogen bombs. In this instance, the Emmanuel Lutheran Church exercised religious and political domination over the needs of the people of 4th and Washington Sts.

John R. Cochran, is the pig pastor who saw fit to say 'no' to the people's needs. He has yet to fulfill them by his religious ranting about fire and brimstone. Not having a good, hot, nourishing diet takes you all too close to that hot place anyway.

This pastor says; "The Black Panther Party claims

to be Marxist-Leninist in its teachings, we are not."

Right On, you claim to be Christian, we are not. It was you: same Christ who said, when I was hungry, you fed me, when I was naked you clothed me, when I was without home, you took me in. These cats to whom Christ was talking to said, when did we do this? Christ said, even as you do these among the least, you do this to me. And then Christ made a clear line of demarcation, between the did-ers and the preachers. The cats that put their theory into practice, the did-ers went to the pearly Gates, the bulls-----ers, the preachers, the pigs, went to that other place. -you dig?

Panthers feeding kids, who are

you feeding, except the overweight pig power structure with your misinformation and your tax exemptions?

Panthers as of the 20th of October, are clothing people, who are you clothing, except for the hypocritical lying pig power structure in Babylon?

You have defined your position. We have defined ours. We have constructed a clear line of demarcation, not too far different from the one your Christ defined. And we are the DO-ERS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME

West Cook

LUTHERANS SERVE "AMERICA" PANTHERS SERVE THE PEOPLE

EMANUEL LUTHERAN CHURCH
1001 South Fourth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19147

SERVING OUR NEIGHBORHOOD
WITH THE GOOD NEWS OF
JESUS CHRIST

TO: All Persons who signed Petitions
From: Pastor Cochran
RE: Free Breakfast Program

Sometime in the past month you signed a petition circulated by the Black Panther Party, Philadelphia branch, to have the Free Breakfast Program instituted in our neighborhood. The petitions were presented to the Church Council of Emanuel Church last evening, together with an explanation of the program and a proposal from the Black Panther Party that the program be instituted at Emanuel Church. The petitions bore 171 signatures of residents, though five were from 12th Street or west of Broad Street. Eight residents of the community and three members of the Black Panther Party pre-

sented the proposal to the council (governing board of the church).

Since you signed the petition we feel you should be informed of the council's action and the reasons for it. After lengthy discussions the Church Council voted to explore the need for a Breakfast Program in the neighborhood more carefully, but to reject sponsorship of such a program by the Black Panther Party in our building.

Frankly, you must help us determine the need for such a program. How many children in our neighborhood get no breakfast? Why? Is it a lack of money or lack of responsibility on the part of parents? Should a Breakfast Program be instituted in the elementary schools of our neighborhood? We invite your response in more specific terms than a signature of a petition.

The council decided that Emanuel Church should not be linked to the Black Panther Party either in the Breakfast Program or in the Liberation Schools. We believe we have demonstrated our

concern and action for the legitimate needs of this community many times over. The Black Panther Party claims to be Marxist-Leninist in its teachings, we are not. (Marx was the first modern communist, Lenin the leader of the Russian communist revolution and first premier of the Soviet Union). While we are vitally concerned for the growth of Black power and self-determination we remain also committed to the integration of all elements of American society, Black and White, rich and poor, management and labor. The Black Panthers stand for something else and we cannot stand with them.

We invite your response to our thinking and our action--either verbally to one of the pastors or by telephone to the office (DE6-1444, 9:30 to 12:00 a.m. every weekday).

Sincerely yours,
John R. Cochran, Pastor

Breakfast Vote Wins!

The New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party started the John Huggins Memorial Free Breakfast Program on Oct. 8, 1969. The first day it rained hard and 28 children came. In the 10 days since, attendance has climbed steadily to over 75 children per day. The enthusiastic response of the people to the Free Breakfast Program has also been shown by the many parents and teenagers who attend the Program to help serve the children.

The Breakfast Program is located at the Newhallville Teen Lounge, 176 Shelton Ave. From 7:00 to 8:30 a.m., children walk or are directed to the Program for a hot nourishing breakfast. When the Program first started, it was sup-

posed to be temporary. On Tuesday night, Oct. 14, there was a community meeting to decide whether or not to let the Program remain at the Lounge. Over 100 people from all around the city came to the meeting to speak about their concerns for the Breakfast Program. The vote of the area's residents, 56-22 was an indication of how successful the Breakfast Program was after only one week of operation!

The New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party will be expanding the Breakfast Program to other locations very soon because of the great response of the people to their first one.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Panthers Conduct People's Program

The Philadelphia Branch of the Black Panther Party started its Free Clothing for Children Program on the 19th of October, at Columbia and Crosby Sts., at 2:00 p.m. We served the people.

Pig preachers and pig captains are still saying 'no' to our Free Breakfast Programs. We say later

for these buffoons. The people have neither the time or patience for these clowns.

The Black Panther Party must move to meet all the basic needs and desires of the people, and apply it practically.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!



TRUE SYMBOLS OF FASCISM

The White Hunter

Hello syphilitic baboons, the White hunter is on his way to win himself 3 trophies in Oakland. There is no trace of nigger achievements throughout history, they live in and off white man's culture and enjoy themselves. Niggers hate niggers. White slavery built this nation, nigger slavery

picked cotton and cleaned toilets and increased crime throughout the country 400%. Haiti is a prime example of black power. Brainpower is not inbred in the inferior races, mainly the baboonish race. Baboon your time is short, get smart and drop out of sight, get with the program work and support

yourself. You have 10 days to grab a lunch bucket and find a job. White Hunter is on his way. (And in excellent hunting shape.) Run baby run, make it interesting for me!

Bwana

GREAT WHITE HUNTERS EVERYWHERE, U.S.A.

Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, and all of the Panthers at large:

This is to tell you, that if we catch any Panther on the street they must die. We are going on the defense, and we will kill any Panther on sight. The normal Black people of the community will survive if they keep peace. We believe in them getting their rights,

it's yours we won't give up.

You are the worst group of godd--ed motherf---ing c--k s---ing, a son -of- a b---ing b---rds that ever crawled. You know what you boys are, you're p--ies, each and every one of you except the hags you call women, (they're di--s). You have nothing but homosexuals and lesbians in

your so-called gang. Without them knives and guns, if you weren't so Black you'd be yellow. So, to close this note remember:

White is wonderful-Black (as in Panthers) is b---ey.

Co-Presidents
Great White Hunters

WHITE BROTHER

Dear Brothers,

I'm a whittle, but want to join the Panthers. I personally know many more like me that believe in what you are doing. I'm not like those others from Boston who can't see what's happening. This fascist system is engulfing both my Black and white brothers, but both are too blind to see it. The Black Panthers have opened their

eyes and know what is happening. They're fighting for what they believe in, not like a lot of fat as-ed Whites, who sit around watching the country die. The pigs control everything and no one can do anything about it but you. Too many of my brothers have been brutally attacked by the pigs. It's time to act.

Please print this statement so all the whites in the country know that a white wants to join the Panthers. Maybe more will open their eyes.

POWER TO ALL PEOPLE!
White Brother

NEWSMAN CHALLENGES PIG ON LIE DETECTOR

I challenge detective James Tobin to take a lie detector test with me to settle whether I am a liar or he is a liar.

Detective Tobin testified in Federal court Tuesday that when he was arresting Jerry Rubin, one of the defendants in the "Conspiracy 8" trial, "I turned around and there was Jack Mobley.

"He was yelling at the top of his voice, 'Leave that man alone.'" I saw the arrest. I didn't open my mouth.

Rubin was walking west on Washington street, turning onto Dearborn, at 10:20 the night of Aug. 28, 1968. The bloody rioting in the Loop had just been brought under control.

I was alone in my radio car, heading toward the office. As I reached the corner, an unmarked car with four policemen skidded to a stop beside Rubin. Three men jumped out.

One of them called, "Come on, Jerry, we want you! Any time you're on the street there's trouble." The three men grabbed Rubin and squashed him to the sidewalk. They didn't hit him.

The girl with Rubin screamed, "We haven't done anything! We were just walking." One policeman took her arm and shouted, "You want to come too?"

Rubin was hustled into the car.

I had pulled over to the curb, got out, and was standing in the street, about 15 feet away, watching. I didn't say a word or move until one policeman in a white shirt noticed me as he got into his car. "That's Jerry Rubin," he said. "Yeah, I know," I answered. The police car sped off.

The girl was still on the corner screaming. I returned to my car and drove to the office.

That is what happened. There were few other people on the street, no disorder, no noise or shouting in which Detective Tobin could have

confused my voice. The girl's screams were distinctive and could not have been mistaken for my voice.

Why would he gratuitously throw in testimony like this? There are a couple of possible reasons. One is he charged Rubin with resisting arrest. Rubin is a little man, and he resisted arrest the way a fly resists getting swatted.

It was a phony charge, and Tobin knows it, and he knows I know it.

Secondly, I criticized the arrest in this column with these words:

"I have heard Rubin speak, and he was obscene and revolting. In America a man may be arrested for obscenity or revolution. But Rubin was grabbed off the street and rushed to jail because of what he thinks.

This is not the beginning of the police state, it is the police state."

By swearing that I tried to interfere in an arrest situation, Detective Tobin is trying to dirty me. He dares do this because I was alone. They only witnesses were his three fellow policemen.

I have covered police for 30 years in Chicago. I am not stupid enough to interfere with an arrest on a dark street, when four policemen are arresting one revolutionist. I will give \$100 to the Police Officers Defense fund to anyone who has ever heard me raise my voice on the street in any riot or disorder or arrest situation.

I was shaken to my roots when I read this testimony. Not that the policeman is going to hurt me, but that a man in his position could badly tell such a story.

I can fight back, and I will. But how about the poor guy sitting in a courtroom whose freedom depends on the honesty of a Detective Tobin? It's the poor mope's word against the policeman's. If Tobin lied about what I said, how is it possible to believe his testimony about what Rubin and Rennie Davis and the other defendants said?

Tobin doesn't have a patsy this time. I want to take a lie detector test and I challenge him to take one.

I will swear under oath I did not say "Leave that man alone" or anything like it. I ask that the other three policemen swear under oath what I said or did not say, and then we all five go under the lie detector.

NOTE: Jack Mobley is a columnist for, Chicago Today

REPRINTED FROM
CHICAGO TODAY,

The Pen Or The Sword

The Black press has always been a great weapon in the Black Americans' fight for liberty, equality and freedom.

The Black press has been, and remains, one of the main instruments for strengthening the bonds between Black people in their fight against slavery, racism and oppression.

The Black press has analyzed, interpreted problems facing Black Americans and mobilized the Black community to act in its legitimate interest.

Opponents of Black freedom and equality have always sought to blunt the Black liberation struggle by either censoring or destroying the Black press.

Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist, faced great problems in establishing and maintaining his newspaper, "The North Star". Even William Lloyd Garrison, the White abolitionist, did not want Douglass to have his own newspaper.

After the Civil War, when lynchings were rampant in America, the Black press fearlessly exposed these barbarous practices. For her role in exposing lynchings, Ida Wells Barnett was driven from her home in Memphis, Tenn., and her paper was destroyed.

During World War I, the Crisis, then edited by W.E.B. DuBois, was investigated by the American government and its mailing rights restricted because it led the fight for Black liberation.

The Chicago Defender, founded by Robert Abbott, an ex-slave, for years was prohibited from being freely circulated in many Southern cities and states because it fearlessly championed the cause of Black equality.

After World War II, Paul Robeson founded a newspaper, "Freedom", to inform Black Americans about the connection between their struggle in America and Africa. Robeson's newspaper, like Paul himself, was persecuted and eventually driven out of business.

Here in California, the oldest and best known newspaper in the West, The California Eagle, was harassed and driven out of business after the editor of the paper, Charlotta A. Bass joined the Progressive Party and ran for Vice President of the U.S. in 1952 with Vincent Hallinan.

The Black Panther Press is being prosecuted as all good Black newspapers have been for leading the liberation struggle.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
AND DEATH BLOWS TO THE PIGS

BOBBY BREAKS HIS SILENCE

Presently now the fascist pig headed Judge Hoffman has taken the shackles off trying to smokescreen the situation. He's taken the shackles off because the fascist hogs, Nixon, the administration, Mitchell, and others have ordered him to do so behind the scene. It's obviously clear that he's trying to lay dead and think that I'm going to call him a fascist and a pig which I am going to do anyway because that's the way I see him and that's exactly what he is.



CHAIRMAN, BOBBY SEALE AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON

Last Friday morning there was cruel and unusual punishment inflicted upon me by the eighth amendment of the said Constitution of the United States. After being shackled to a chair by my arms and legs, they held my nose and tried to force large wads of rags into my mouth, and I refused to the extent of using my weight and the chair to struggle against some eight or nine marshals inside the lock-up right outside the courtroom. This in itself and the fact that my lip was burst to the extent that blood seeped from my teeth and the fact that I almost lost my breath and went unconscious is the overt form of pig brutality. They also further went and used the type of bandages that football players use to keep their knees and joints together the same as doctors use to keep bone structure together. They tighten up when one moves, and this was wrapped around my head and wrapped around so tight

This is an attempt on the part of the fascists to stop this. I understand it, they won't cower the revolutionaries of this country, that means they won't cower the people of this country who are fed up and sick and tired and who need to move now to eliminate the rampant incipient fascism that's now in America and that's right before our eyes. So, the smokescreen of me being ungagged and unshackled this morning is pointless. I'm not tricked by it, and I hope that the masses of the people are not tricked by it, and I'm pretty sure they're not, because in the future we will see many more tactics. The very tactic of the trial itself is to railroad people to jail. This is an overt violation of the constitutional rights that they say we the people have.

The overt violation of laws, old reconstruction laws that are 100 years old, such as Section 1981 of the U.S. government code clearly spells out that no Black man is to be discriminated against in any court dealing in any legal defense proceedings.

This outright blatant attack, not only upon me but upon the people of America is not new, it's as old as this country is, where Black people have been attacked, lynched



and mauled over in the racist courts of America. It's now becoming clearer and clearer that America is going down and the fascist ruling class circles, who are less than ten million with all their running dog pigs, who are trying to run over 190 million people in this country, are going with her.

So from there I guess the best thing to say is that the struggle goes on, and the people must unite. The workers of the world, the exploited laboring masses must unite and stop and oppose fascism in the courts, and this





that all blood circulation was lost in my head until I almost passed out.

There were other scenes behind the scene where there was a sneak technique to try and give me an overdose of tranquilizers where I would be in a stooper or a daze or in a hypnotic state, and I would not be clear as to what was going on. Naturally my next attempt was to come forth and explain this to the people and I told my wife at visiting hours last Friday so the people could know the cruel and unusual punishment that was being inflicted and their further fascist tactics to deny Black people and other poor oppressed people their constitutional rights in these fascist courts.

This act of racism on the part of the court, on the part of the U.S. government is nothing more than a blatant attack against all the peoples struggle to change this exploitative, oppressive, capitalistic system.

It is the ruling class that is behind the scene, it is Hoffman himself who is a member of the ruling class circle, who owns factories that make war materials to bomb children and people of Vietnam who are heroically fighting to defend their land and their people. It is an attack upon Black people here in America from poor oppressed people who are trying to attempt to fight and demand their rights, to demand the right to be free to build a socialistic system, to build a system and a nation whereby they take part in dictating their right to self determination and in fact making that a reality.



going with her.

So from there I guess the best thing to say is that the struggle goes on, and the people must unite. The workers of the world, the exploited laboring masses must unite and stop and oppose fascism in the courts, and this exploitative system. To change the system and relate correctly to mankind's proper development and establish a socialistic system (system of power of the people) that is the dictatorship by the masses of the people. So Power to the People and Free all Political Prisoners, all the Black brothers and sisters throughout America. And Free Huey P. Newton Our Minister Of Defense.

The Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said, "An unarmed people are either in slavery or subject to slavery at any given time", and my chains are a clear example of what he was talking about.





INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A MESSAGE TO BRAZILIANS

The following manifesto outlines the aims and program of one of the two underground organizations in Brazil which were responsible for the capture of U.S. Ambassador Elbrick. Carlos Marighella is the leader of Ação Libertadora Nacional (National Liberating Action). Formerly he was a leading member of the Communist Party of Brazil. —The Editors.

From somewhere in Brazil, I address myself to Brazilian public opinion, especially to workers, poor farmers, students, teachers, journalists and intellectuals, priests and bishops, youth and women.

The military took power by violence in 1964; they themselves opened the way to subversion. Thus, they should not complain nor be surprised that patriots are working to oust them from the positions of authority which they so brazenly usurped. Just what kind of order do these gorillas wish to preserve? Assassinations of students in public squares? Executions by the Death Squadron? Tortures and beatings by the Department of Public and Social Order and the military?

The government has denationalized the country, surrendering it to the United States—the worst enemy of the Brazilian people. North Americans own the best tracts of land in Brazil. They own a large part of Amazonia and of our mineral wealth, including atomic minerals.* They have installed strategically placed rocket-bases in our territory. Agents of North American espionage, of the CIA, have ensconced themselves in our country, guiding the police in manhunts of Brazilian patriots and advising the government on how best to repress the people.

The MEC-USAID Agreement [between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture and the U.S. Agency for International Development] has been put into effect by the dictatorship for the purpose of imposing the North American system of education in our country and transforming our university into a private institution where only the wealthy may study. Meanwhile, students must face the bullets of the military police and defend their right to study with their blood.

For the workers: wage freezes and unemployment; for the peasants: evictions, illegal usurpation of their land, extortionary rents; for those of the Northeast: hunger, misery, disease.

Freedom does not exist in Brazil. Censorship is exercised for the purpose of restricting intellectual activity. Religious persecution is intensified daily: priests are arrested and expelled from the country; bishops are attacked and threatened.

Inflation flourishes uncurbed. There is too much money in the hands of the big capitalists, while less and less goes to the workers. Along with such low wages and such frequent decreases in real wages, rents and the cost of living have reached a new high.

Governmental corruption is rampant. It is shameful that the most corrupt individuals are to be found among cabinet ministers and officers of the armed forces. Members of the government live like potentates, indulging in contraband and robbery; meanwhile, government employees have been granted a mere 20 percent wage increase.

The orgy of inflated money has given rise to a wave of petty crime, a social phenomenon in a country where nabobs squander fortunes and impoverished millions plead for work, food, and shelter. The dictatorship, lacking moral vigor, cannot command respect and its authority is being threatened. It cannot even guarantee money in banks nor its distribution. Furthermore, it invites ridicule when it attempts to present a patriot [Marighella himself] as Superman, attributing to him the gift of ubiquity and the perpetration of all the terrorist assaults and other acts that are being carried out throughout the country.

In the face of the scandalous avalanche of lies and the acutely slanderous accusations made against me, I have no alternative but to answer the government—and its despicable police agencies who are determined to capture me, dead or alive—with bullets. Things have changed since 1964, when I was unarmed: the police fired on me and I was unable to repay them in kind.

Ultra-right organizations organize attacks, throw bombs, kidnap, kill. But we never hear that the government is pursuing any of the terrorists of the CCC [Communist-Pursuit Comandos].

The dictatorship claims that a subversive plot exists, a conspiracy of politicians deprived of their rights, to overthrow the government. And by means of a witch-hunt it seeks des-

perately to track down the leadership. But the leadership is to be found in popular discontent, for nobody can tolerate a government such as this one.

The movement which evokes such terror among the gorillas comes from below; it does not come from the politicians deprived of their rights but from the innards of a disaffected people, now determined to use mass force. This is the source of its unity and organization.

We shall not overthrow the dictatorship by means of military coups, elections, redemocratization, nor with any of the other panaceas of the tolerated bourgeois opposition. We do not believe in a compliant, submissive parliament, maintained with the approval of the dictatorship, and ready to yield on every point so that deputies and senators can survive, with their subsidies intact.

We do not believe in a peaceful solution. The conditions for violence are not in the least artificial. They have existed in Brazil ever since the dictatorship used force to take power.

Violence generates violence. And our only way out is to do what we are now doing: using violence against those who used it first, and who used it to the detriment of the national interest and the people. The violence that we proclaim, defend, and organize is the violence of armed struggle by the people, of guerrilla warfare.

The gorillas think that Che Guevara's death meant the end of guerrilla struggle. On the contrary, we in Brazil, inspired by the example of this selfless, heroic *guerrillero*, carry on his patriotic struggle, working together with our people, with a confident spirit and with history on our side.

A vast movement of resistance to the dictatorship is taking place in our country. And from within it guerrilla operations and tactics have emerged. Accepting the honorable title of Public Enemy Number One, bestowed on me by the gorilla government, I assume responsibility for the eruption of such guerrilla operations and their tactics.

Who will unleash future attacks? Where, how, and when will they erupt? This is the guerrilla movement's secret, which the enemy will try in vain to discover. Revolutionary initiative is in our hands. We are already on the move and we shall wait no longer. The gorillas will remain in their dark labyrinth until they are forced to transform Brazil's political situation into a military one.

In unleashing the people's revolution, in using guerrilla tactics, our aim is to organize a just and necessary war against the United States, a total revolutionary war of the Brazilian people against its enemies.

The Brazilian Revolutionary War is a long war—not a conspiracy. Its history is already being written with the blood of students in the streets, in prisons where patriots are tortured and massacred, in the actions of persecuted and humiliated priests, in workers' strikes, in peasant repression, in struggles defined by violence in rural areas and urban centers.

The fate of the guerrilla forces is in the hands of revolutionary groups and is secured by the acceptance, support, sympathy, direct and indirect participation of all the people. To achieve this, revolutionary groups have united in action, from the rank-and-file up.

Revolutionaries of all tendencies and of all party affiliations, wherever they may be, must further the struggle and create support for the guerrilla movement. Since the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution, we can ask no one's permission to carry out revolutionary acts. Our only obligation is to the revolution.

The recent experience of our people's struggle proves to us that Brazil has entered a phase of guerrilla tactics and armed actions of all types, of surprise attacks and ambushes, seizure of arms, protest actions and sabotage, mass demonstrations, "lightning" demonstrations, student demonstrations, strikes, occupations of buildings, kidnappings of police and gorillas and their exchange for political prisoners.

The principal tactic that we must now follow is to distribute revolutionary forces for the intensification of these forms of struggle. Later, we must concentrate revolutionary forces in order to carry out operational maneuvers.

SEE NEXT PAGE

In rural or urban areas, there are three big options open to revolutionaries; they can choose to work with the guerrilla front, with the masses, or in the support and maintenance network. In all of these fronts work must be clandestine; underground groups must be organized; vigilance against police infiltration must be maintained; informers, spies, and stool-pigeons must be punished by death; no information must filter through to the enemy.

Whatever the situation, arms and ammunitions are necessary; the revolutionaries' fire-power must be increased and used effectively; decisiveness and rapidity are necessary, even in small actions such as leaflet distribution and wall painting.

Among the measures considered necessary for the well-being of the people, to be instituted after the triumph of the revolution, are the following:

We shall abolish privilege and censorship.

We shall institute freedom of creative expression and religion.

We shall free all political prisoners and others sentenced by the present dictatorship.

We shall abolish the political police, the National Information Service (SNI), the Naval Secret Service (CELIMAR), and other repressive police agencies.

We shall, after summary public trials, sentence to death all CIA agents found within the country, as well as those police agents responsible for torture, beatings, shootings, and executions of prisoners.

We shall expel North Americans and confiscate their property, including companies, banks, and landholdings.

We shall confiscate the holdings of those private, domestic, capitalist enterprises that collaborated with the North Americans and opposed the revolution.

We shall restore effective state control over monetary exchange, foreign trade, mineral wealth, communications and basic public services.

We shall confiscate latifundio holdings, putting an end to land monopoly, guaranteeing property titles to those farmers who work the land, ending forms of exploitation such as sharecropping, tenant farming, privileges and exemptions, payment in script, company stores, evictions of peasants and usurpation of their land; and we shall punish all those who have committed

crimes against peasants.

We shall confiscate all illicit fortunes of the big capitalists and exploiters of the people.

We shall abolish corruption.

We shall guarantee employment to all workers and to women, liquidating unemployment and underemployment, and applying the slogan: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his work."

We shall, for the protection of the tenant, revoke the current rent laws, abolishing evictions and reducing rents; we shall offer facilities for home ownership.

We shall reform the entire educational system, nullifying the MEC-USAID Agreement and all other vestiges of North American interference, giving to Brazilian education the focus needed for the liberation of our people and their independent development.

We shall encourage scientific research.

We shall free Brazil from its condition of a satellite of North American foreign policy, so that we may be independent of the policy of military blocs; we shall follow a line of full support for the underdeveloped countries and for the anti-imperialist struggle.

All these measures will be supported by the armed alliance of workers, peasants, and students; from this alliance will arise the Revolutionary Army of National Liberation, of which the guerrilla force is the embryo.

We are on the threshold of a new epoch in Brazil, marking the radical transformation of our society and the achievement of true dignity for Brazilian men and women.

We are fighting to win power and for the substitution of the bureaucratic and military machinery of state by the armed people. A popular-revolutionary government will be the great objective of our strategy.

Hatred unto death for the North American imperialists!

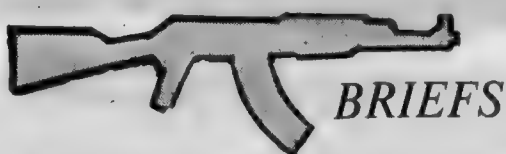
Down with the military dictatorship!

Viva Che Guevara!

Brazil, December 1968

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REVIEW

NEWS



TOKYO

TOKYO (LNS)--American B-52s loaded with hydrogen bombs have been flying near Communist China and North Korea on regular patrol missions according to Kyodo, the Japanese News Agency.

The planes had been flown from Guam into Okinawa on the pretext of taking refuge from a typhoon last year, and remained ever since. There are reports that these planes have been engaged in bombing missions over Vietnam.

The U.S. Defense Dept.'s reticence in either confirming or denying the reports is based on the fact that they do not discuss the location of nuclear weapons or the activities of the Air Force. The State Dept. won't say anything either.

The media tells us about the Koreans capturing the U.S. Pueblo and the shooting down of an American naval reconnaissance plane, but not about the U.S. flying H-Bombs around the world. The Koreans are being portrayed as the war-monger aggressor, while America is shown as peace-loving and innocent. The Koreans might well be the target of U.S. imperialism's next attack.

SOUTH AFRICA

Tennyson Makiwane, representing the A.N.C., spoke of the opening up of guerrilla action in August 1967 in Zimbabwe. He deplored the fact that some of our men had been arrested in Botswana, and he condemned the "road of betrayal" taken by Banda.

Comrade Makiwane stated that the liberation movements could well face up to the local reactionary forces, but the intervention

of the NATO forces made the task more difficult. He called upon the people of Britain to do their duty in combatting the intervention of the NATO powers and urged that action committees could be formed to this end.

ZIMBABWE

Z.A.P.U.'s representative, Edward Ndlovu, a member of the Z.A.P.U. Executive, emphasized that the Southern African revolution was unique in that the NATO powers were combining their might to defend their economic interests. Z.A.P.U. regarded the military alliance with the A.N.C. as vital for African Freedom. "Violence can only be ended by violence", he said. Even though there were now 20,000 troops on the alert in Zimbabwe, the struggle was continuing, with special concentration on the North and the East. The peasants were giving full support to the guerrillas and in some areas where the police were attempting to shift villagers they had sent messages to the guerrillas to come to their assistance to resist the police actions. Comrade Ndlovu called for material assistance for the families of those in the front lines and for those in detention. He appealed for clothing and medical supplies as a mark of solidarity with the many destitute families in Zimbabwe.

MICRONESIA

MICRONESIA (LNS)--America is trying to expand its horizons and the islands of the South Pacific

may be the next area to suffer.

A U.S. commission just finished looking around Micronesia, according to The Wall Street Journal, and they reported that the little islands have tremendous potential for military installations and geriatrics.

These islands are being considered for a modified Pacific Rim strategy, as more and more pressure is being put on U.S. forces to get out of the Pacific. Okinawa and the Philippines have asked U.S. troops to leave, and of course, Vietnam, Laos and Korea are in various stages of forcibly evicting them.

In addition to using these islands as bases for bombing Southeast Asians, America will be able to send the tourist overflow from Miami and Hawaii to this tropical paradise.

But America plans to "build up their economy" first, that is, finance a small group of privileged businessmen and create an economy totally dependent on the U.S. Meanwhile, they figure they can let the poor natives keep on running around the islands, living in misery. It will make for good postcards.

A CALL FOR EDITORS TO DENOUNCE A RACIST MURDER

New York, Oct. 25 -- Workers World newspaper today called on all daily and periodical papers in the United States to condemn the police shooting of Black Panther circulation manager Walter "Toure" Pope, dead at the age of 20, as an act of racist terror against a free press.

"The question of a free press, that is, really free for opposition voices, including that of revolutionary Black opposition, is integral to this case," said Vincent Copeland, editor of Workers World. "It is clear that the Los Angeles authorities--and others--are trying their best to gag the Black Panther newspaper and smash the Black Panther Party.

There have now been eleven members of the Black Panther Party killed in Southern California alone", he went on. "Black Panthers are big news when some District Attorney tries to pin the crime of blowing up Macy's department store on these Black lib-

The Winston-Salem, branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism initiated a Liberation School for Children colonized here in the Black colony of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

We're implementing a Breakfast Program, which is urgently needed in this poor oppressed colony of Babylon. With the initiation of these Programs and the stepped-up hard work of the brothers and sisters to help raise the people's level of conscience, so has the pig's harassment of this committee stepped-up.

The racist government controlled pig media is oinking some s--t about, "for children to get fed they must first learn some songs of hatred and reverse racism." That we are going around harassing the avaricious businessmen, "asking for food and guns."

The people know that we are

only teaching an education that exposes the true nature of this decadent, racist, imperialist, capitalist society. The people know that we are not harassing any avaricious businessmen, we have only made it clear to them that they must make their business relevant to the needs of the Black colony, or they will not be able to function in the colony at all, Right On!!

Despite the master pig and their bootlickers oinking their best to wipe out the Black Panther Party, out of the hearts of the people, the people can see through that s--t. And all their lies about the Black Panther Party has fallen upon millions of the people's deaf ears.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!
Winston-Salem, National Committee to Combat Fascism

eration fighters. But the daily papers are silent about the mass murder campaign against them and constant police attacks against them."

"The detaining of scores of Black Panthers in prisons throughout the country with exorbitant and unconstitutional bails totaling many millions of dollars, has of course contributed greatly to generating more hysteria against the Panthers and has undoubtedly helped make the police feel they can get away with such racist murders 'in the line of duty'. This campaign of repression can hardly be separated from the outrageous shooting of Walter "Toure" Pope.

NEWS BACKGROUND:

Pope had been instrumental in raising the circulation of the Black Panther paper from 2,000 to 7,000 a week in the Los Angeles area and was a thorn in the side of the L.A. police. He had obviously been

singled out and given an average of two traffic tickets a week besides being arrested on several harassment charges in the last year.

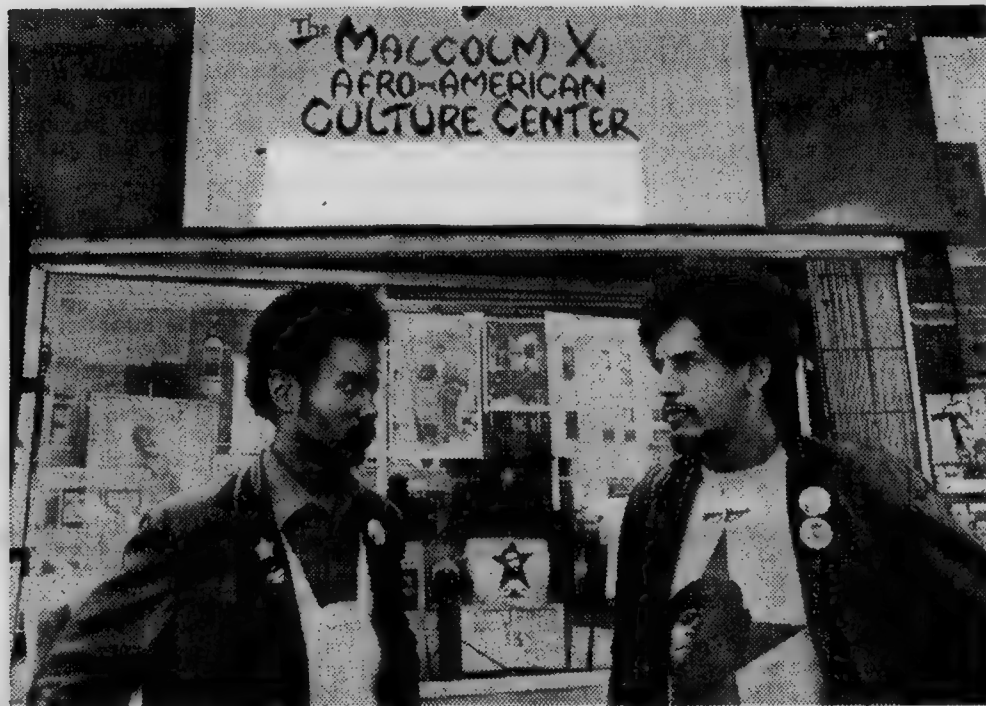
Police story is that two patrolmen, Elvin Dale Moen and Don Mandella were fired upon while sitting in an unmarked car, apparently "watching" somebody. Claim is that Pope used a shotgun and had a friend with a rifle, and that Pope and his friend fired first, with the friend running away.

Panther Minister of Education Ray "Masai" Hewitt, challenged this story saying, "The pigs knew him and had threatened to kill him for months. His death was the end of months of harassment and intimidation."

Workers World newspaper is the organ of Workers World Party, with editorial offices at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, 10010.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

TO ALL PHOTOGRAPHERS AND OTHERS



CAP. CARLTON YEARWOOD AND FRED FERNANDEZ, OUT TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

The night of Sept 27th a sister was struck down by a car approaching Grand Central Parkway coming from the direction of 59th St. bridge. The sister laid in the street about 35-40 minutes waiting for an ambulance. This is the fourth person in 5 weeks to be hit and injured by a car since the tragic accident of the 17 year old sister on Aug. 22nd. The driver in this particular accident didn't intend to stop. A brother in the street who was on the scene at the time of the accident gave chase of the car and got the license plate number. Only a fool who was in the wrong would leave the scene of an accident after striking down a pedestrian. Accidents still occur on Northern Blvd. because of inadequate traffic lights. The lights on Northern Blvd. are not synchronized. In some places there aren't any at all, the city has

promised time and time again. They promised to place lights on the corners of 105th, 98th, and 96th, streets. They have just recently started on the lights on 96th St. and Northern Blvd. In the meantime innocent people are still being struck down and seriously injured, because of the neglect of the power structure to meet the needs and desires of the people. Waiting 35-40 minutes for an ambulance in the Queens area where 2,000,000 people reside is a clear example that this rotten system does not serve the people. We must not allow this genocide in the Black community to continue. It is up to the people to come together as one whole to move and destroy the beast that makes up this vulturistic system. Only by exposing the evil defects of a capitalistic, fascist system, (the lying politician, the avaricious

businessman, and the slimy street pigs, the Black Panther Party has the necessary programs to meet the needs and desires of the broad masses of poor and oppressed peoples, for instance Free Breakfast, Free Health Clinic, Liberation School. This fascist, racist government is truly being exposed. The people will come forward wave upon wave and destroy all evils that is standing in the way of the progress of mankind as a whole. so we say, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE", because it is the people and the people alone that are the motive force in the making of world history. (Chairman Mao) And to the pigs of the power structure we say this, "BLOOD TO THE HORSES BROW," because you will surely drown in your own blood.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM WARREN WELLS

"I, Warren William Wells, am a perfect example of an American produced negro, confused, uncertain and desperately trying to awaken the manhood I'm sure I possess. It may surprise you but I don't feel lost now, I feel that there is much more life for me to live, a lot I can do for me and a lot I can give my people. This is for the judges or any official that might think I'm feeling down, I won't waste a second of my time trying to be the negro fellow you want to see, I will do everything to help myself, respect myself and God help me not be anything like the D.A. that lies like he has no soul or the Black officer on the stand in my third so-called trial. Nothing that has happened to me surprised me, the surprise is that so many people just don't know what is going on in the courts of this so-called Free America. The probation officer said write a short life story, I can't. How can I put it all on paper for the purpose of a probation report. I'll just say my life has been painful, not only for me but for those that love me, my life has made me see how many ways I'm not a man yet, my life has been very educational. 10 years out of 22 in jails.

"You have me believe that my version of what happened April 6, 1968, is the most important part of this report, but I know what's more important. I was put on trial three times. Three long trials in which much more than money or time was put into. Three times I saw grown men lie and lie and ask 12 people to close their minds and be ignorant. I could have been acquitted in the first trial if I were tried for what I did, if men had been men, but no, they lied in the name of American justice. After spending my life fighting myself in jails the Black Panther Party was something I



WARREN WELLS

wanted. I couldn't be a good Black Revolutionary, using dope caused me to be suspended. This sheet of paper I have says, tell why I should be on probation. Well, I can tell you why you won't put me on probation. You have spent too much money to convict me, you have given up to much phony pride and principles lying, and you know I'm not going to pattern my life after you but I will seek myself. I expect to be put in prison. I expect to be locked up in solitary like I have been so many times before. I expect Warren Wells to ignore you and work his problems out for his self, be the man he should be so he can sleep with himself in prison, I expect that when my mother dies, she will leave a man son on this earth,

so my wife will know that no matter what, Warren is a man, and my dead son will have a Father.

"I want to write all the conflicts in the D.A.'s report I read yesterday but for what, even you can see the lies". A bandolier 8 inches from my hand, just read the transcripts of the three trials in my first trial, I was 50 feet from where I was in the third trial and the bandolier was found after I was taken to the hospital.

"I will ask only one thing, the year I did from last September to this October be counted on my prison time, I ask this because it was a very ugly year in solitary in this jail, it was so damn nasty and painful."

United States imperialism finds itself at the end of its rope and is closer to its doom. Thus, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class thrust "Tricky Dick" Nixon into power with an eye to extricating the imperialist system from impending crisis. You see, all reactionary forces, on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms to save themselves from extinction.

The Capitalist Pig Power Structure has waged cruel war against human nature itself. Violating its most sacred rights of life, and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, by incurring miserable death on them in their fight for liberation. This piratical warfare, is the warfare of the King of Oppression, determined to keep an open market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every attempt to prohibit or restrain this mad oppression.

We, therefore, defend the right of all exploited people to the control of their own economic resources and political systems in a world of just stable pride and the continuing diminution of military threat and power. The war in Vietnam is not accidental; it is the logical consequence of an imperialism which requires the subordination of foreign resources, markets, and political structures to the 'survival' needs of Capitalistic corporate property and profit.

A man with one foot in the grave tries to console himself by dreaming of paradise...this is the delusion and the desperate struggle of a dying class.

However, the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. The Black man arrived here, in racist

Babylon in chains. We were torn from familiar surroundings and culture, enslaved, taught subservience and made to suffer inhuman indignation.

PEOPLE--Look at what's happening now. Look at the courts, look in the streets, look anywhere. CAN'T YOU SEE?? If it could be put into words it may read something like this:

"CAUTION ----- OPPRESSED PEOPLE ONE AND ALL, You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the WATCHMEN and PIG OFFICERS OF AMERICA...For since the recent order of the Power Structure they are empowered to act as KIDNAPERS AND SLAVE CATCHERS, and they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the Fugitives among you, SHUN them in every possible manner as so many hounds are on the track of the most oppressed of your class."

You can wait-in, or sing-in all you want, but power comes from the barrel of a gun.

The domination of U.S. imperialism abroad, and U.S. capitalism and blatant fascism here in Babylon shows itself as the major obstacle to the attempts of people to overcome their misery and oppression and to establish for themselves an existence rooted in self determination and dignity.

You'd better take some of that energy of yours, and put it in motion and start dealing with these oppressive conditions, and then you're going to find out just what you hate - and what you're trying to stop.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Sharon Williams

ARTICLE FROM SHARON

STOP LEAD POISONING



WELFARE MOTHERS ON THE MOVE

The poor people of New Haven Connecticut are being oppressed by the three main tools of fascism (the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician, and the racist pig cop) the same as everyone else in Babylon. But in New Haven there is a silent oppressor attacking the children, this has grown from the three tools of oppression. LEAD POISONING!! The state of Connecticut has the highest rate of lead poisoning in the country. The city of New Haven had the highest lead poisoning in the state.

There is one specific area in New Haven called "The Hill Section", a majority of the poor people live in this section, and this is where the lead poisoning rate is highest in New Haven. "The Hill" in other words has the highest rate of lead poisoning in this country!! A medical survey was run at the Hill Health Medical Center from January 1968 to August 1968, at that time there was 30 cases of acute (very bad) lead poisoning. From January 1969 to August 1969 there were 90 acute lead cases!!

How does a child get lead poisoning. A child usually gets lead poisoning from the chipped lead-base paint that has been on their walls for a long time. The child eats the paint because it is sweet and tastes like candy. A child doesn't have to eat a lot of the lead paint to get lead poisoning, it depends upon how much lead is in each chip of paint the child eats.

A child can also get lead poisoning from the plaster that is used on the walls. Here in New Haven, most of the plaster that was used for walls has a very high lead content.

What are the symptoms of lead poisoning: There are many symptoms (signs) of lead poisoning, the usual symptoms of lead poisoning are as follows: Pica (eating things other than food) irritability, unsteady walk, convulsions, coma, and the most dangerous, NO SYMPTOMS AT ALL!

How do you find out whether or not your child has lead poisoning?

1. Take your child to the doctor and have his blood level measured, send some to a State lab (In Conn. it would be in Hartford)
2. Blood count and smear
3. Urine tests
4. X-rays of the bones and belly

There is much more to be discussed about lead poisoning, and what it is doing to the people.

NEXT WEEK: Who is to blame for lead poisoning.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
New Haven Chapter
Verna

A SHORT SCOPE ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT

It is the contention of certain establishment types that the origin plus impetus of the Peace Movement revolves around some 'Communist Front'.

This shows an aptitude tendency of arrogance and contempt on their part against the will of the people. The people's mass, peaceful (for the most part), legal desire to withdraw the U. S. aggressive troops from an unlawful, undeclared (as if declaration would make an imperialist war lawful) capitalist free-for-all affair in the troubled turf of Viet-Nam, brings the so-called servants of the people to make subversive statements to insure their gainful, greedy, gain.

In particular, an excellent pack of parasitic punks to scope on is Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan, and his capitalist cohort, subversive sissy Senator Strom Thurmon, and of the Mission Impossible task force, Mother Max Philip Friedman.

The F.B.I. (Federal Bureau of Intimidation), the Senate, other 'heads' of State have said later for the people's wishes, and the people's demands. The Peace must transcend to a higher level, the level of armed resistance, the level Papa Cleaver talked about when he said, "We want all the American troops out of Viet-Nam, forthwith, ---or we are going to open up a front right here in Babylon!!!"

The Moratorium, as vast and as disorganized as it was, has moved to somehow envelop large masses of the American people, interested in the uncompromised

removal of the U.S. Gestapo forces from the Viet-Name people's land. Huey said that the withdrawal would force a re-evaluation and a revolution in the basic economic composition in this country.

The Vietnamese people want immediate implementation of point #1 of the 10 Point Program of the Black Panther Party, WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT THE POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR YELLOW COMMUNITIES. --

As long as the decadent dollar, 'the paper god', rules supreme, and defines self-determination of the Vietnamese people as subordinate in Babylon, then she may not feel shocked at the posture that the North American Liberation Front must take, to secure self-determination in the Black Colony, (in Babylon), and the Yellow Colony, and the Red Colony, and the Brown Colony, and the predominately poor White area of Babylon -- dig?

MAN, I BELIEVE ALL MEN SHOULD WALK FREE, WHETHER YOU'RE BLACK, - WHITE OR BROWN---Manuel Ramos-murdered by fascist pigs, condoned in Chicago-New Riechland, revenged by revolutionaries- North American Liberation Front-Rainbow Coalition -- Young Lords Organization

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
West Cook
Philadelphia Branch
Black Panther Party

FRAME UP



"BIG BOB"

On October 23, Robert "Big Bob" Heard, a member of the Black Panther Party, having gone to court with a sister was approached by two plainclothes pigs who wanted to talk to Bob. Bob answered "yes", and when they asked him to go to pig station #9, "Big Bob" asked if he was under arrest. The pigs oinked, "no", so Bob went about his business. They then put him under arrest. He was not charged until they reached the pig pen. Bob was framed with assault and armed robbery; and placed on \$20,000 bail. The pigs tried to be overly-polite but their piggishness bleamed through their goody masks. The pigs got a female nigger pig, who goes by the name of Taart, to testify that Bob held a gun on her while another man robbed her. The pigs and the court officials were so overly-polite that obviously this bust had been a long time in the planning. The whole incident is an obvious frameup to kidnap this revolutionary brother and hinder the Party's political work of educating the people to the proper strategy and techniques for total liberation. The farce of this case is that the pig power structure actually feels that they are putting the cap on the revolution and destroying the spirit of revolutionary brothers and sisters. We will not be intimidated. These murders and arrests by the pig power structure only serve to sharpen our revolutionary spirit.

Dare to struggle,
Dare to win,
Eugene W. Jones
Lt. Information
Boston Chapter

THE BIG LIE

The Boston Pig Department continues its lie campaign to undermine the Black Panther Party. In the Monday morning issue (October 20) of the Boston Globe, a lying pig who goes by the name of "Richie-Boy" Conboy stated that the pigs had received a "confidential report" from the F.B.I. a month ago, which was supposed to have said that they received information that the Black Panther Party "planned to try to take over and occupy police headquarters." What kind of madness is that? This is a bold-face lie, made-up by the pig power structure to destroy the Black Panther Party by making us seem as though we are thugs and hoodlums and enemies of the people. They realize the dedication of the Party to serve the needs of the people and to expose the system for what it is-- a dictatorship by those few rich murderous fools and lackeys like Rockefeller, Nixon and Hoover who use any means necessary to keep the truth from the people.

The Black Panther Party is truly the servant of the people and don't need to take over a pig station because we're not thinking about occupying a pig station. We're thinking about more Free Breakfast Programs, Liberation Schools, and Medical Clinics. Taking over one pig pen would not serve the people. Attacking and taking over a pig pen is insanity. So---PIGS, TAKE HEADQUARTERS AND SHOVE IT. WE'LL KEEP OUR PEOPLE'S PROGRAMS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Eugene W. Jones
Lt. Information
Black Panther Party

SISTERS - COMRADES AT ARMS

Yes, as Eldridge says, we are subversive to the bulls--t that is going on in this country today. Because of this, we are here to inform the broad masses of people, to educate them in other words. We were evidently put here by whatever means necessary to serve the people by whatever means necessary, through thick and thin. We have expressed this just by being Panthers that we mean business, so let's prove this by standing by our brothers in this struggle and work to the bitter end. Mao plainly states that work is struggle.

We are to be (as well as the brothers) out and out cold-blooded. There is no need for sewing circles and cooking duty at home. We are Revolutionaries! Time says itself, stop slip-shodding and do what has to be done because, it is time. Fascism doesn't wait for you, me, or anyone else. When we are asleep, fascism is at work. When we are out in the fields dealing with our 50 or 100 papers fascism is also spreading propaganda in the Daily News, Wall Street Journal, and selling millions, steady brainwashing the people.

If you don't know the name, you can't play the game. This is to say if the people don't know, the people won't act, and if you're slow, you'll blow, so if we don't move fast it will be too late.

We are obligated to struggle on, to educate, to provide, to serve the people. We do not believe in male chauvinism, so therefore we are doing this on our own which makes it even harder to stick. We must show these brothers and the people that surround us, that we mean business.

We, the sisters of the Black Panther Party do declare that we will stand through thick and thin by the side of our brothers and declare open war against these fascist fools who don't realize that they don't put down just any old thing on the people. There are pigs who don't care whether you're male or female.

The sisters of the Black Panther Party will stand and help one another achieve the goal set for our people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Jackie Harper
Branch Secretary
Corona Branch



"JOMO KENYATTA"

TO: Central Committee B.P.P.
3106 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, Calif.

FROM: Field Lt, Robert E. Webb
New Haven Branch B.P.P.

REPORT: Expulsion of Melvin Johnson (Jomo Kenyatta)

If the view of the minority has been rejected it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

As of Oct. 21, 1969, Melvin Johnson (Jomo Kenyatta) is expelled from the New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party. Jomo Kenyatta was expelled for:

1. Disregard for organizational discipline.
2. Failure to obey orders in his actions.
3. Passivity.
4. Desire to leave the Party.
5. Putschism.

Melvin Johnson was very slack in his work and when criticism was given him Jomo would become subjective. We then would induce him to some strong conscious discipline and would have an ideological struggle to come to a unity of will.

But liberalism rejects this and stands for unprincipled peace, thus becoming decadent, philistine in attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain individuals.

Melvin Johnson (Jomo Kenyatta) is now classed an ex-Panther by the New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Has Anyone Seen Bobby Bowen?

The Richmond Branch of the Black Panther Party wishes to inform all chapters and branches of the Black Panther Party, and all people in general who are sincerely waging struggles against the people's common enemy (U.S. racism, fascism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) that Bobby Bowen is no longer in the Black Panther Party.

Bobby Bowen has proven himself to be nothing more than a paper tiger.

The Black Panther Party is a Vanguard (out front) revolutionary organization, and will not tolerate jive niggers who accept the rules of discipline in theory (talk and ideas) but refuse to do so in their practice (action and deeds).

Bobby (s---head) Bowen ran out on the people and the Party without so much as a word to anyone but his MAMA. It is clear that he is suffering from a lack of faith in the masses, fears the truth about his "rotten to the core a--", and constantly hides his sickness for fear of treatment.

Quite a number of people, with little and sometimes a total lack of



political awareness, joined the Black Panther Party because of its practice.

Let it be understood that Bobby Bowen is a liar, a hypocrite, a counter-revolutionary, and in the final analysis, an enemy of the people!

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!
Daoud
Richmond Branch
Black Panther Party

INTERVIEW WITH CONSPIRACY EIGHT ATTORNEYS

Following is an interview with William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass, attorneys for the eight Conspiracy defendants who are on trial in Chicago for conspiring to incite a riot at the Democratic national convention last summer. Randy Furst represented the Guardian.

Guardian: With the Conspiracy trial entering its fifth week, would you discuss the government's strategy?

Kunstler: While we can't discuss great specifics—because of time and because of a rather unconstitutional rule of the court out here that prohibits defense attorneys from talking to the press about pending cases—I would say in general that the government is presenting a very narrow view of what happened in Chicago during the Democratic national convention. They're presenting only a portion of the story. We can tell from the material we get containing the full statements of all their witnesses that they're picking out only those events which they think are highly derogatory to the defendants. Their witnesses elaborate on those and stay away completely from anything which puts the demonstrators in a good light. Through cross-examination we've been able to develop inconsistencies and outright inaccuracies and fabrications by virtue of having the grand jury testimony of these same witnesses and statements that they gave other government offices before the trial. At this stage the government has not produced a witness who is entirely credible.

Guardian: From statements so far it seems you are trying to show it was a "conspiracy" of police, the city and the federal government against the demonstrators rather than a conspiracy of the demonstrators against the police.

Kunstler: That's exactly correct. Our position has been from the beginning that the wrong defendants are in the dock. And that the real defendants would be the Mayor of Chicago, certain federal officials, certain high-placed people in the Democratic party and certain state officials in Illinois who conspired together to absolutely ensure that there would be no protest demonstrations around that convention. And when all else failed, they resorted to the brutality of just clubbing the demonstrators insensible and frightening off or by force preventing the demonstrators from doing what they came to Chicago to do, namely a peaceful demonstration around the convention to protest the war, racism and poverty in the United States.

Guardian: Black Panther party chairman Bobby Seale maintains he's not represented by an attorney. Could you explain Seale's position?

Kunstler: Bobby originally wanted a trial team which would be headed by Charles R. Garry of San Francisco, who has been his main counsel for a number of years and in whom Bobby has great confidence. He doesn't know Len or myself except to the extent of this trial and he feels strongly he wanted Garry at the head of this team. When Garry became ill and could not be here, Bobby

attempted as did all the defendants to get an adjournment of the trial to provide time for him to recover from his gall-bladder operation and come to Chicago. That was not granted. So from the very beginning of this trial he's taken the step of saying he discharged the other lawyers because he was denied his own chief trial counsel. So he has tried to defend himself. [On Oct. 20, judge Julius Hoffman denied Seale's motion to act as his own attorney, which would have given him the right to cross-examine witnesses.]

Guardian: Are there precedents for defendants waiting to have their own lawyers appear before the trial starts?

Kunstler: Oh yes, there's a great deal of law that if the defendant is not doing this as a device to delay the trial and has a legitimate reason for a delay, courts normally grant them. In this case all the defendants wanted merely six weeks to enable Garry to have his operation and come to the trial.

Guardian: Judge Hoffman handles this case in an incredibly arbitrary manner. Why is he doing it?

Weinglass: I don't think a lawyer could answer that. You'd probably have to go to another discipline. The attorneys who practice locally indicate he's an extremely difficult judge. I can't explain this in full—except I'm just shocked by what I see.

Guardian: Has Hoffman made it difficult for you to present your case?

Kunstler: Yes, it's been a very rough experience for all of us and I think Lenny has put the nail in the wood in this situation. It's not really for us to comment. I think someone else would have to comment.

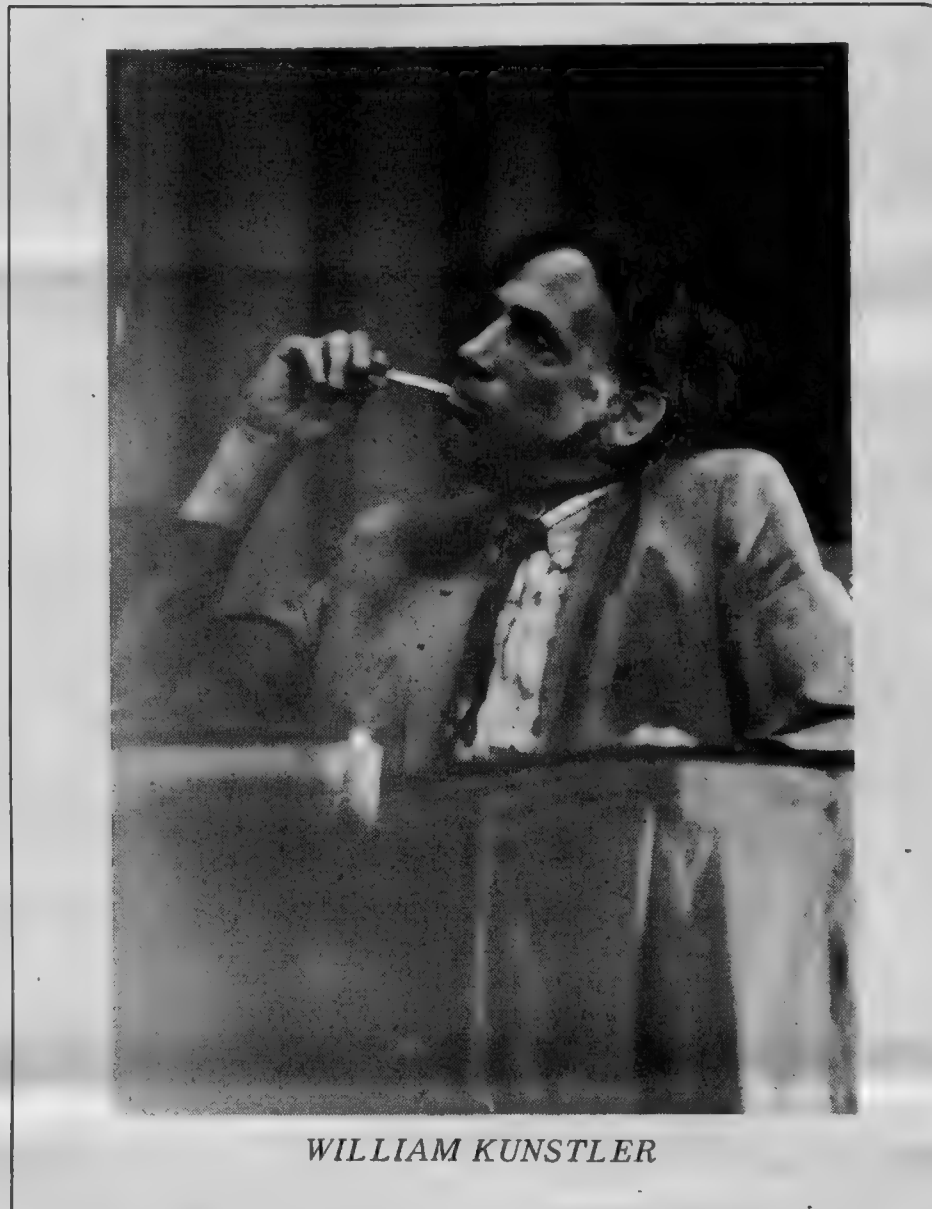
Guardian: One or both of you may face court charges after the trial. Would you discuss that?

Weinglass: We'll be in need of a vacation. There's no way to discuss it. At this point we don't know what the nature of the charges are or whether the threat of a charge is just being made to intimidate us in the course of the trial.

Kunstler: So far, Hoffman's called Lenny's conduct contumacious or he's said in reference to a remark of mine, for instance, "I want that very clearly in the record," leaving the distinct impression that at some future time he may take action. If he does Lenny and I hope the organized bar and lawyers generally will come to our aid. We feel the bar itself is impregnable to the attack of judges like Hoffman when it holds together and organizes around this issue of lawyers being held in contempt or otherwise disciplined for a vigorous defense of clients. One of the reasons why we don't feel intimidated is not our own courage but the feeling that there are a great many lawyers who we are sure will come to our aid if we are adjudicated in contempt, incarcerated or otherwise disciplined.

Guardian: It seems this is one of the most aggressive defenses ever in a movement trial.

Kunstler: I don't know. We have both



WILLIAM KUNSTLER

been in movement situations before. I think this is the most aggressive one I've ever been in. I think it's primarily due to the nature of our clients, who are very aggressive people. They take certain very active steps in their own defense and their spirit, I guess, goes over to the lawyers. We're affected by the fact that our clients will not own up to the legitimacy of the court and the legitimacy of the procedures under which they are being tried, but stand there really as very brave and articulate men who refuse to knuckle under to any courtroom disciplines other than the absolute minimal requirements.

Guardian: What kind of future precedents are being set for repression against the movement?

Weinglass: The law under which we are being charged is a major potential force against the movement. To prohibit people to travel across state line with a certain state of mind is the first time the federal government has engaged in prosecutions for merely having a state of mind. I think this is a substantial threat.

Guardian: What is the real chance of winning the case here or on appeal?

Kunstler: The judge asked me something today about whether my clients would be convicted and I said I

thought they would be convicted. I never got a chance to say, because they were not getting a square deal in the courtroom. Because the trial has been conducted the way it has, the odds are they will be convicted. The appeal would then be on the basic constitutionality of the statute and on many things that happened during the trial itself.

Guardian: What can the movement do to support the Conspiracy?

Kunstler: Send them money. Transcripts cost us about \$300 a day and we're \$1700 in debt on transcripts alone. Secondly, they can join the various protests that are going on around the country with reference to the trial. Lawyers can prepare for what may happen to the lawyers in this case. They can flood the letters column of newspapers with condemnations of the trial and take any other step people ordinarily take to protest, whether its writing to Congressmen, having meetings running fund raising parties for the Conspiracy and so on.

Contributions may be sent to the Conspiracy, 28 E. Jackson St., Room 407, Chicago, Ill.

**"AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SLAVES
OR SUBJECT TO SLAVERY
AT ANY GIVEN TIME"**

Huey P. Newton

OPEN LETTER TO BLACK GIs



Recently there has been an increasing amount of controversy by Afro-Americans regarding the legitimacy of Black military personnel participating in the Viet Nam conflict.



Even the people, the system once categorized as being responsible

citizens, are asking, "should Black Americans be fighting in Viet Nam"? The answer to this question, by revolutionary Black people, is NO!! This answer is totally contrary to the position of the system that is responsible for so many Black GIs participating in the killing of their allies. It is utterly ridiculous to think that we should go into another country and participate in the killing of a nation of people fighting for something all oppressed people, (me and you) are, or should be fighting for.

Consider, if you will, why this impoverished little brother is fighting so desperately. He could easily surrender and live under the lackey government of South Viet Nam but, he continues to fight and die for what he knows is right. He not only fights Americans but, also his own people. There are many reasons he continues his struggles but, they all boil down to one basic reason. He is fighting for his manhood! He wants his people to be the masters of their land. He has seen the land, which is his birth, taken by others and used for their benefit. His people have been denied human rights. Rights which distinguish man superior to animals. This ally, who

is fighting so unyieldingly, has seen imperialistic and capitalistic nations come to his land and extract tremendous amounts of wealth from it. In the process of his people being robbed, they have become slaves in their own land.

His women, who were once honored, have now become objects of recreation. His children have become beggars. His brothers are now puppets, uncle toms and thieves. The Vietnamese knows he is not responsible for the condition of his people. The creator of these problems knows that in order to continue to profit from Viet Nam, he must perpetuate the condition of the people. Our ally knows his liberty will not be willingly granted, so he must fight to free his people from imperialism.

Unlike we have been taught, he has not been brain-washed. He has seen these things happen to his people and the land he loves. You GIs, who are fighting against him, have been brain-washed!!! Thousands of Black soldiers are, at this very moment, under the assumption that they are fighting for freedom in Viet Nam. In reality, they are fighting to further enslave its people.

When America first began its drive to keep the Vietnamese peo-

ple down, our comrades were somewhat reluctant to engage in battle against Blacks. He knew about other movements towards liberation in Africa. He also knew the condition of Black people in the United States. Knowing these were one in the same struggle, he only fought you when there was no other choice. Now he has put you in the same category as his own people, who are fighting to stay under the rule of imperialism, and he must deal with you as we, in America, may someday have to deal with our uncle toms.

In America, people from all backgrounds are showing distrust, hatred and dissatisfaction in regard to the inhumane government of the United States. The Black people of this country are analyzing the political structure of

the United States and are declaring it illegitimate. The system is being made to change by a Revolutionary People's Movement.

The entire world is changing toward real human progress. We hope you return back to the United States to participate in the liberation movement, but if your return home means the death of an ally of the THIRD WORLD MOVEMENT, then we feel your life is no more important than the lives of the people who are responsible for you being there. For, progress of the world is being motivated by his actions.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. Edward W. Alexander

GI Surgeon Tells Brass No

San Antonio, Texas, (LNS)—Capt. Irv Roger, a 26-year-old Army doctor ready to be shipped out to Viet Nam, has told the brass he won't give the OK to send any men back into battle.

Dr. Roger is on orders to leave Fort Sam Houston, where he is now stationed, to go to Viet Nam as a battalion surgeon. It will be his job there to screen injured men, sending some back to active duty, others away from the front for treatment.

In a meeting held Oct. 15 at the headquarters of the American Friends Service Committee in San Antonio, Dr. Roger said he wouldn't send anyone back to battle. He

explained, "How can I justify the death of a single soldier I sent back into action in a war I don't believe in?"

Dr. Roger has been involved in anti-war activity, and is a staff member of "The Military Left," Fort Sam Houston's underground paper.

There was no immediate indication from Army brass about what would happen to Dr. Roger. His case recalls that of Dr. Howard Levy, who was recently released from Federal prison. Dr. Levy was jailed after being found guilty in a court martial for his refusal to give medical training to Green Berets.

STRIKE AGAINST ROTC

Fifty students at the University of Puerto Rico have been on a hunger strike since Oct. 7 in a protest growing out of mass opposition to the draft and ROTC on the campus.

Several students have already been taken to the hospital. The students have vowed to hold out until the campus ROTC is abolished.

Several prior actions have shaken the campus since the beginning of the school year. At a rally Sept. 12, 3000 students passed a resolution calling for an end to the draft and ROTC. On Sept. 28, more than 3000 students, led by a coalition of all pro-independence organizations, marched on the ROTC building and set it afire.

"Since that time," said student leader Antonio Gaztambiere in an interview with the Guardian, "the press has been building a climate of repressive hysteria against us.

We responded by organizing a mass, peaceful march of over 400 students to show we would not be intimidated."

The administration reacted by shutting down the school for two days and issuing warrants for the arrest of several leaders.

The students hid out their leaders and took the issue to the workers, winning the support of several trade unions. On Oct. 6, 4000 students and workers marched to the courthouse, where the students subject to arrest held a rally and turned themselves over to the authorities.

The hunger strike began the following day, demanding release of those arrested as well as an end to ROTC. Since then, there have been several student-worker rallies, including one Oct. 9 with 4000 participants. The students have threatened a general strike if ROTC is not abolished by Oct. 30.

Open Letter To HUEY P. NEWTON

"He who takes a step toward the liberation of his people, takes a giant step toward the liberation of his own." -- Comrade Che

Power to the People, Blood:

The time has come to write a letter to "you" to let you know that the people, and myself in particular, haven't forgotten you. Not too many open letters are written to you so I will try to say everything that is on the minds of the people so you will know.

A lot has happened, since your incarceration, to the Party, the people and the revolutionary struggle as a whole, culminating with the arrest of our Chairman, Bobby Seale. The nation-wide attempt to destroy the Party by the various reactionary forces has failed and now, more than ever, the people realize what's going down. People from all walks of life, whom you would never expect to have the slightest idea of what was happening, have made statements to the effect that the bulls--t that the structure is laying down on the Party has got to stop and that "Babylon" truly is a fascist state with all the trimmings. All across the country the questions are popping up, "Tell me more about Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party", "Tell us what we can do to further the revolution," and "When is it coming because I am ready?" The revolutionary struggle has moved into a new phase whereas the people are still on the defense (the fear of being jailed, murdered, exiled and intimidated for offensive attack, is still great) they are now ready to strike out in the proper revolutionary manner for what is rightfully theirs. The oppressor's vicious attacks now seem so outright, obvious and stupid until it is the people who are laughing at "him", now, and condemning his every move toward change. In Watts and Detroit and so many

other places the oppressor has had the last laugh because of improper approach to self-defense. But I believe that wherever the revolutionary cry can be heard, let it not be said that those brothers died in vain but they had a cause to which they were devoted, and if any individual feels the slightest sense of doubt let him pick up the gun with the continual cry of revolution and peace.

I recently heard Agnew make a statement to the effect that he thinks it would be more important to get to Mars, Venus and all other planets, before we take care of the domestic problems here on earth. Can you dig that? And Nixon has thought of a quick cure for the inflation problem - increase unemployment. So these were just a little note to let you know who the people were tricked into endorsing.

If they would have elected Humphrey-Muskie the situation wouldn't have been much different because they have both openly supported Nixon-Agnew. Like Malcolm X said "its like choosing between the fox and the wolf."

The counter - revolutionary machinery is falling apart at its seams, because of the people. The revolution is already happening, and the pigs don't even know it yet, because of the people. The Vanguard Party has stretched out into a 32 Branch organization, because of the people, averaging 10 new Branches a year since its inception in 1966. We have National Committees to Combat Fascism, all over the country also.

So, be strong blood. We're working hard for the people, both in liberation here (in Babylon) and for world wide liberation.

SEIZE THE TIME!!
Marcus Rebel

NATIONAL B.L.A. OFFICE RANSACKED

The national office of the Black Liberation Alliance, located at 75 East 35th street, was ransacked on Thursday, October 24, at approximately 10:30 pm. The office was entered by smashing the front office window's plate glass. Office desks, chairs, drawers, files, and newspapers were strewn about the floor. Two telephone cords were also severed, however, no items were stolen.

Robert L. Lucas, national chairman of the Black Liberation Alliance, after phoning the office at approximately 10:30 pm. and hearing the phone receiver placed off the hook, was preparing to drive to the office when a neighbor notified him that a section of the office's front plate was broken.

Earlier this week, on Sunday, October 25, a small hole cracked the office plate glass in three areas. The office was entered on Monday, October 27, by shattering the cracked glass. Three electric typewriters, one manual typewriter, a 16 mm movie projector and camera, a large tape recorder, 15 reams of mimeograph paper, and \$50 in miscellaneous office supplies were stolen. Equipment valued at \$2,000 is missing.

The Black Liberation Alliance mistakenly assumed the theft was caused by burglars, but it has now been discovered to be a deliberate pattern of escalated harassment by Establishment agents who are bent on halting the organization's participation in the Coalition for United Community Action's fight against the racist building trades unions and activities as a direct action group.

The Black Liberation Alliance is requesting assistance in replacing its stolen items. Donations of office equipment and other contributions may be sent to: 75 East 35th street, Chicago, Ill. 60616, 842-0198/9321. Copies sent to: United States Justice Dept., U.S. Attorney States' Attorney, Supt. James Conlisk, Lt. Robert Williams, Human Relations Division.

College of Marin...A Kernel of Racist Oppression

College of Marin, a two year Community College, is located just north of San Francisco, across the Golden Gate Bridge. Although its population is less than 220,000 people, it is the second richest county in the nation in per capita wealth (New York City's Manhattan is the first).

The non-white population, based on the Office of Economic Opportunity report (April 15, 1969), comprises 4.2% of the total. 73.8% of the 4.2% of the non-white population is Black.

The college enrolled, Fall 1968, a total of 5,422 credit students of which 118 had Spanish surnames, 93 Black, 61 Japanese/Korean, 7 Native Americans (Indians), and 24 non-white. In Spring, 1969, the college enrolled 127 Black students. The Fall 1969 semester the Black students' enrollment totaled only 143.

The mere survival for non-white students at the college of Marin has been magnanimous. The facilities are clearly white upper middle class oriented. All aspects of the college are clearly evaluated on this basis.

After an extended struggle the college started a Black Studies major. To date, the instructors in this program are all part-time. The college has two full-time Black permanent instructors (one in chemistry, the other in nursing) and one full-time Black Counselor.

There have been less than 30 Black graduates since the doors of the college were opened more

than 40 years ago. The struggle of Black students has been against racist instructors, racist curriculum and racist counseling.

Black students, until last year (when the Black Counselor was hired), were indiscriminately programmed into remedial courses which forced them to struggle through approximately six semesters of college while the White student complete his studies in the normal two year period. The extended curriculum encouraged the financially needy Black student to drop out of school in order to seek menial employment.

Academic assistance (tutoring) has been virtually nonexistent for these students. Financial assistance was doled out dictatorially by a single individual who used "academic excellence" as the criterion for allotment, rather than financial need. It is clear that, for students from non-academic backgrounds, and who are victims of the track system (systematic exclusion from college bound classes as early as the third grade) their academic level would not be equal to the more "fortunate" student.

As long as the Black student struggled individually, apart from other Black students the college continued to systematically flunk these students out.

At the outset of the Fall, 1967, semester, Black students decided to consolidate their struggle into the Black Students Union organization. They began to make demands for relevant curriculum, adequate financial aid, more Black

students, Black counselors, and Black instructors who would assist the student in achieving a successful relevant education. It was the efforts of these students that forced the forming of the current Black Studies major.

The success of this group raised the threatened head of racism on the campus and the administration began its move. It successfully transferred the leaders of the B.S.U. to the local four year college and university (San Francisco State College and University of California, Berkeley).

In the Fall, 1968, another group of forceful Black students enrolled at the college and immediately began grouping for their survival. They reiterated the demands of the Black Students Union of the previous year and began to settle down to work on achieving their goals. The racist administration/faculty made their move. They initially attempted to co-opt these students academic goals by offering them transfers. These students refused. Then the administration in its panic began its move to force these students into a confrontation in order to expel them from the campus. The college while voicing a concern (support in principle) for the student demands used the age old trick of dragging their feet in order to intimidate the students. This technique expanded throughout the college in a dragnet fashion to flush out the student leadership.

This current semester, Fall, 1969, the racist Board of Trustees, administration and faculty was successful in forcing the B.S.U. leadership into a confrontation, and now three of its main leaders are up for expulsion (under the guise

of disciplinary suspension).

This was achieved by the Board of Trustees who, in a recent meeting, forced the students into action. The topic under discussion was financial assistance. Using the subtle intimidation tactic of evasion, the Board pushed the students to their limit. Students walked to the table that the Board members occupied and pushed all of their agenda papers and other effects from the table to the floor. This act, although it indicates restraint on the part of the students resulted in the expulsion of the three student leaders, although approximately 60 students took part in this move. The racist administration chose the three students who have been the most active and vocal in the push to fulfill student needs.

This is the beginning of a list of about 40 students that the college has marked for strategic expulsion. The racist Board of Trustees, administration and faculty in many votes of confidence on a variety of proposals geared to maintain repression of the students, have shown their solidarity against the non-white student who does not obediently accept their authority.

They have been reasonably successful in their repression because they have controlled the information going forth to the people.

The Student Solidarity Movement of the college of Marin is now calling for unity among oppressed people of Marin County, the Bay Area, the state, the nation and around the world. We will no longer allow the racist officials of this college to quietly destroy us.

Hartford (Conn.) -- (AP)--The nation's newspapers should hire more Negroes and publish fuller and fairer accounts of Negro activities, says a report to the Associated Press Managing Editors Association.

"Despite an impressive upsurge of effort, there are still far, far too few Negro employees on editorial staffs of American newspapers," the Black News Committee of APME said in its annual report Wednesday.

Suggestions Among suggestions to the 425 managing editors attending the annual convention were:

. Involving more Blacks in circulation of newspapers in minority group areas.

. Beginning recruitment of Black editorial personnel in high schools and junior high schools, contacting teachers in schools with Black students to find youngsters with aptitude and interest.

. Emphasizing newspapers as a public forum with "letters to the editor" and "action line" columns seeking quick response to community and personal problems.

. Coverage One contributor to the report, Neal Shine of the Detroit Free Press, said: "Our mistake is not in over reporting the activities of Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, but in underreporting what is happening in the rest of the Negro Community."

Ralph Holsinger of the University of Indiana department of journalism, vice chairman of the committee, said newspapers should "routinely cover a citizen's committee meeting in the Black community" and should "get just as indignant over a Black murder as over a white murder."

THE PIGS WORE BLACK ROBES

The San Francisco State strikers are facing another round in their endless battle with the officious protectors of law and order, the San Francisco judges. This time it's the 3 judge appellate court, made up of judges Harold Caulfield, Alvin Weinberger and Walter Carpenetti. The appellate judges are trying to send the strikers, convicted of participation in a rally on the S.F. State campus last January 23rd, to jail with all undue process. The way they're doing it could make a good script for a Laurel and Hardy movie.

Here's what's happening: All of the groups of strikers convicted on charges of disturbing the peace, failure to disperse and unlawful assembly, stemming from the mass bust, have appealed their cases. The grounds of dismissal are excellent, both on factual and constitutional grounds.

Factually, the trials have been a mockery of the so-called "judicial process". Since the D.A.'s have no case to prove the strikers are guilty of the charges--because they're on trial for their politics, not for any "unlawful" activity--the D.A.'s have resorted to basing their case on scaring the juries about the alleged "violence" of the strikers, not on the 23rd, but during the previous months of the strike. The judges have cooperated with the D.A.'s strategy in every way possible. From the simple judicial expedient of over-ruling all defense objections to the conduct of the case, to the more outlandish practice of kicking defense witnesses off the stand when their testimony incriminates the police, or advising the jury that the real issue in these cases is whether the campuses will be ruled by the administration or by a mob.

The constitutional grounds for appeal are numerous: denial of rights of free speech and assembly, no jury of our peers, prejudicial pre-trial publicity making a fair trial impossible, unusually high bail, denial of transcripts for the appeals case, severe sentences, etc.

However, the appellate judges are trying to dismiss these appeals even before they're represented. The maneuver goes like this: the trial judges refuse to grant the defense lawyer the transcript of the trial which the lawyers need in order to write the appeal brief. The reason given is that the defendants have no right to a free transcript (even though they are all poor enough to require the defense of a public defender). The rationale is that if a defendant has \$100 in the bank, and/or a car, he's not poverty stricken and can afford to pay for the transcript. However, the transcripts cost about \$6,000, because the trials lasted for 6 weeks, and a transcript runs about \$175 a day. If one person in the group is clearly indigent (and it's all up to the discretion of the trial judge), then he can have a transcript, but not until the rest of his group has divided the cost of the transcript (about \$600 per defendant).

Since we can't get the transcripts in order to file the brief appellate judges have maintained that the time allotted for filing the brief (about 30 days after the sentence) is overdue, and, by default, the defendants have to go to jail.

So far, the lawyers have been on top of this game of judicial one-upsmanship, and the D.A. in charge of fighting our appeals is getting more harassed with overwork everyday. And the strikers are still hanging on tight, intent on fighting the insanity in the courts.

Moral of the story--until the courts are controlled by the people, there will be no justice for the people

The strikers need your support to continue their fight against the courts. Please send what you can to:

San Francisco, Legal Defense Committee P.O. Box 31158 San Francisco, Calif. 94131

PIGS EAVESDROP ON STUDENTS

As Amerikkka moves more and more toward an open fascist state, it becomes increasingly clear that the institutions in this society are nothing more than centers for pig operations and focal points for their demagogy.

We know, through the proceedings in recent court cases, that J. Edgar Hoover Hog and his Big Business Bosses are very indiscriminate as to what phones they will "tap" or what rooms they will have "bugged". These cases do not prove the technical ability or power of the ruling class and its lackeys, but actually points to its weaknesses. When the society becomes so corroded that it must constantly eavesdrop on its citizen's conversations in order to find out what they are plotting, it is clear that society is falling. It is falling because its demagogy (lying and deceiving) has proven inadequate to keep the people from plotting their next moves against their oppressors. If the people are so far ahead of the pigs that the pigs must eavesdrop to try and quell any disturbances in this system of bourgeois democracy, they will surely gain victory because if the people are conscious of the tricknology of the pigs and are moving in opposition to it, there is no force on earth that can conquer them.

The degree of corrosion must be especially dangerous for the pigs if they must come to the level of high school students to find out what they are plotting. This letter is very, very key. It shows that Hoover's and Trickey Dickey's lackeys in Lowell High School in San Francisco must resort to additional bugging devices within

the school to guard against any pending actions by the students.

It is very important to understand what Lowell is, to get a clear picture of the pigs' game. Lowell is supposedly an academic high school--the only one in San Francisco. Because of this status, the student population is made up primarily of petty-bourgeois, highly intellectual students. They are also a few actually bourgeois students who arrive to school in chauffeured limosines. The key is that if a school with this status, with a Black population of fewer than 200 out of a student body of over 25,000, is being outfitted for bugging devices, what about the schools in the more oppressed communities where the contradictions between the pigs and the students are more evident? They must be bugging the kindergartens down in Fillmore.

All that is necessary for us to say about this type of pigism is that if the pigs must resort to bugging kids in school, well RIGHT ON! Bug our Great Granmamma's graves too, Stupid Pigs! The people must be completely on their jobs if the pigs can't trust the very targets for the fascist, capitalist, racist indoctrination that is called the Amerikkkan School System. Then the pigs cannot trust anyone and must be completely and at all times on the defensive. An enemy on the constant defensive, without a rest replenishing period, is an enemy who has surely met his downfall. Dig it.

THE YOUTH MAKE THE REVOLUTION C.T., Comrade in Arms

"SEIZE THE TIME"

Letter To The Editor

It has become crystal clear to many people that the society we live in is not properly organized. A study in the political and economic philosophy of the United States of America will clearly show how American institutions maim, kill and dehumanize working people in general and Black people in particular. Whenever the political tools, which represents an orderly society, are used to suppress the rights of the masses to overcome poverty, illiteracy and want, then that political process should be destroyed. Whenever a political system is used to wage war upon the Third World for imperialistic gains, then that political body should feel the awesome might of the people's disgust. The present American political assembly is quite guilty of committing these acts against mankind and therefore should be abolished (BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY). Whenever the economy of an entire country becomes the property of a few industrial giants, and is the principle factor creating poverty, racism and colonialism, then that economic system should be seen in its true light, and the working and Black masses should move to destroy it. Whenever an economic system is used to oppress the world, thus preventing man from ever living in a world devoid of poverty, war, crime and racism (if possible) the masses of the people should understand that this system is criminal and sentence it to a rapid death.

I personally urge all those people who read the Black Panther Paper to wake up politically and become involved in some intelligent resistance to the very human evils of American capitalism and the two party criminal political machine which governs Americans in general, and the colonized Afro-Americans in particular. Damn ghettos, poverty, war, racism, hunger, disease, capitalism, Democrats and Republicans.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Shubutu Enugu Prisoner of Amerikkkan Politics



HUEY'S APPEAL

PART # 10

c. THE DEATH PENALTY CHALLENGE FOR CAUSE DISQUALIFIED MARKEDLY DISPROPORTIONATE PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO VENIREMEN, THUS AIDING BOTH ELIMINATION OF NEGROES FROM THE JURY AND A CONCENTRATION OF RIGID, AUTHORITARIAN, PREJUDICED PERSONS ON THE JURY.

Fully 55% of the Negroes examined were excused for cause for opposition to capital punishment, whereas only 12% of the whites examined were so excused. The death penalty challenge has the same effect -- all, or almost all, white juries -- as do all of the other procedures and processes of elimination, conscious and unconscious, deliberate and incidental, with respect to whether Negroes actually sit on juries. It must, therefore, also fail as part of many-pronged, unconstitutional process by which black people are totally or largely eliminated from actual trial juries.

The state's interest in executing defendants cannot override the defendant's -- and the community's -- interest in fair trials and a representative jury. If this method of punishment now requires the elimination of 55% of the Negroes seated in the jury box in a trial to determine guilt or innocence, when these same jurors state under oath that they can render a fair and impartial verdict as to guilt or innocence, the operation of the statute effecting that result is unconstitutional to the extent that it interferes with the greater interest in the constitutional right to a fair trial.

In the early nineteen-sixties, Professor Walter Oberer, formerly Professor of Law at the University of Texas and presently Professor of Law at Cornell University, published a body of work contending that capital juries were not representative of the community at large. Oberer suggested that exclusion for cause of jurors with scruples against the death penalty resulted in selecting a jury of authoritarian personalities more likely to be rightist, conservative, rigid, inflexible, and less in touch with modern ideas of criminal motivation. See, Oberer, "Does Disqualification of Jurors for Scruples Against Capital Punishment Constitute Denial of Fair Trial on Issue of Guilt?" 39 Texas Law Review, No. 5, 545-67 (1961); "The Death Penalty and Fair Trial," The Nation, April 6, 1964; 71 Case and Comment No. 4, July-August 1966; letter to Texas House Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence, March 31, 1965. See, also, L.R. McClelland, "Conscientious Scruples Against the Death Penalty in Pennsylvania," 30 Pennsylvania Bar Association Quarterly, 252-59 (1959).

Drs. Zeisel, Wilson, and Crosson tested the Oberer thesis, and their empirical studies support his conclusions. (See Dr. Crosson's affidavit stating that his work supported the Oberer thesis, Defendant's Preliminary Hearing Exhibit I, for identification.) 37

FOOTNOTE

36. See section IV, E, 2, *infra*.

37. See section IV, E, 3, *infra*.

END FOOTNOTE

Insofar as it known, the instant case represents the most thorough effort to make a complete presentation of the empirical data pertinent to this question. The body of empirical evidence now compiled and presented here brings the death qualified jury squarely under the rule of *Glasser v. United States*, 315 U.S. 60, 62 S.Ct. 457 (1942):

"Tendencies, no matter how slight, toward the selection of jurors by any method other than a process which will insure a trial by a representative group are undermining processes weakening the institution of jury trial, and should be sturdily resisted. That the motives influencing such tendencies may be of the best must not blind us to the dangers of allowing any encroachment whatsoever on this essential right." 315 U.S. at 86, 62 S.Ct. at 472.

Whether the defendant's objections to the operation of Penal Code section 1074 (8) be phrased in terms of due process, which requires procedures which preserve the

"very integrity of the fact-finding process" (*Linkletter v. Walker*, 381 U.S. 618, 85 S.Ct. 1731 (1965)), or of equal protection, which forbids arbitrary exclusion of a class from the jury, defendant's constitutional rights were here violated.

Investigations and verified findings by legal scholars and social scientists and psychologists now compel recognition of the authoritarian personality as characteristic of a marked and distinct portion of the community. Systematic exclusion from juries in capital cases of another portion, as marked and distinct and probably as large, identifiable as opposites of those with an authoritarian personality (see testimony of Dr. Sanford at R.T. 224), deprives the accused of a fair trial by jury.

Whatever interest the state may have in having authoritarian personalities on the jury which determines penalty (c.f., *Witherspoon v. Illinois*, supra, 391 U.S. 510, 88 S.Ct. 1770, and *People v. Sears*, supra, 70 A.C. 485), it can have no legitimate interest in having exclusively such personality types or in thus effecting a disproportionate removal of Negroes at the trial determining guilt or innocence. What could be less representative, less related to the concept of the representative jury, than the jury "more likely to convict" than the jury representative of the community or drawn from a random sample of the community? The very phrase "more likely to convict" answers the question, and the evidence now adduced is fully consistent with the finding by the empirical investigators that death qualified juries are more likely to convict.

In *Whitus v. Georgia*, supra, 385 U.S. 575, 87 S.Ct. 643, the Supreme Court found under the system of jury selection there involved that "the opportunity for discrimination was present" (385 U.S. 552). The death penalty disqualification provides a very real opportunity for discrimination, because it inherently lends itself to prosecution design to secure all white juries in capital cases involving Negro defendants, just as the elimination of day laborers in *Labat v. Bennett*, supra, 365 F.2d 698, or of employees in *People v. Tripp*, supra, Superior Court of San Diego County, No. Cr. 14790, inherently produced discrimination against Negroes as jurors.

The fact that the challenge for opposition to the death penalty can and did powerfully aid such a design requires its elimination as an instrument in the selection of trial juries in criminal cases.

d. CUMULATIVE RESULT OF JURY SELECTION PROCESSES.

The operation of the selection processes described here had the result of producing a master panel which:

1) was chosen from a source which initially excluded 47.5% of the adult residents of the West Oakland black ghetto and 35.5% of the adult black population of the county;

2) was produced by a process of eliminating those not responding to mail sent to the address of voting registration, thus excluding West Oakland residents by 13 percentage points more than residents county-wide;

3) was the result of excuse procedures wherein black and poor persons were administratively excused in higher proportions than whites, through excuse of wage earners and blue collar employees at their informal request or at the request of their employers.

The operation of these and the further procedures of peremptory challenge and excuse for cause pursuant to Penal Code section 1074.8 produced a trial jury which:

1) contained not one person who could be classified as a member of defendant's peer group; (38)

FOOTNOTE

38. The initial and intermediate selection processes operated so that by use of the peremptory, the prosecutor was able totally to exclude defendant's peers.

It is commonly known that white collar workers are preferred by prosecutors, because they are more willing to convict. Testimony of Attorney General Katzenbach before the Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, Note, "The Congress, The Court and Jury Selection: A Critique of Titles I and II of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966," 52 Va. L. Rev. 1069, 1096 (1966). White collar employment contains far fewer blacks than whites, but in this instance included the one Negro juror not peremptorily excused.

For some insight into the question of whether a Negro member of the professional classes could be considered the peer of a poor, black resident of the West Oakland ghetto community, see the testimony of Professors Blake and Dizard as to the political attitudes of that community. END FOOTNOTE

2) contained not one resident of the defendant's clearly identifiable and distinct residential area, the West Oakland black ghetto;

3) contained one Negro out of twelve jurors and no Negroes out of the four alternates;

4) contained no person whose opposition to capital punishment would have precluded voting for the death penalty although said person stated under oath that he or she could have applied the law and brought in an impartial verdict on defendant's guilt or innocence;

5) was more likely to convict than a jury from which persons opposing capital punishment were not excluded;

6) contained a higher proportion of persons tending toward authoritarian, rigid, judgmental and punitive personalities than a jury from which persons opposing capital punishment were not excluded; i.e., than a jury drawn from a random cross-section of the population.

If the primary justification for the use of lay juries is that they can reflect the conscience of the community (see *People v. Smith*, supra), in applying punitive sanctions in individual cases, it must be recognized that the community in Alameda County is an amalgam of heterogeneous sub-communities. By use of the selection processes utilized here, defendant's sub-community, the poor, black people of the ghetto areas, was totally excluded from representation on the trial jury, and his race was substantially underrepresented through systematic exclusion.

That the result (i.e., the verdicts) was far less severe than that requested by the prosecution shows, not that this jury reflected or was representative of the whole community or of the various sub-communities, but that the evidence was demonstrably insufficient to sustain a higher charge.

It is now recognized by a Presidential Commission, as well as by judges, legal scholars, social scientists

and thoughtful observers in government, business and academic disciplines, that there is presently a basic community division between a dominant white majority and a disfavored non-white minority in the United States. When the majority can totally eliminate the minority from the jury, and the minority lacks this power over the majority because the latter's number exceed the peremptories, the result is a jury composed wholly or almost wholly of the majority. In the context of racial differences (see, e.g., the testimony of Professor Blake) and prejudices in the late nineteen-sixties in Oakland, California, such a jury can be deemed neither a cross-section of the community nor impartial.

C FAILURE TO STRIKE THE PRIOR CONVICTION WAS REVERSIBLE ERROR.

1. THE PRIOR FELONY CONVICTION WAS CONSTITUTIONALLY INFIRM.

Defendant represented himself at the prior felony trial in 1964, in which he was charged with assault with a deadly weapon. On the day set for trial, the following colloquy occurred.

"The Court: . . . You have been advised by the Court on at least one other occasion at the time your cause was set for trial that you were entitled to (the right to be represented by an attorney) but I take it you wish to go on without the presence of the assistance of counsel; is that correct?"

"Mr. Newton: Well, if possible I would like to have a legal advisor, but I would like to speak for myself.

"The Court: All right. You are asking me, in effect, I take it to appoint the Public Defender as your legal advisor?"

"Mr. Newton: Yes.

"The Court: Your request is denied." (C.T. 194-95).

Thereupon the trial was immediately begun with the defendant not represented by counsel. He was given no warning of the consequences of representing himself; he was not allowed to seek advice from the public defender; he was given no opportunity to reflect upon the consequences of the denial of his motion by the trial court, and no opportunity to reconsider his refusal of counsel in the light of the denial of his motion.

At the conclusion of the planned testimony, defendant having presented several witnesses on his own behalf but not having taken the stand himself, both the district attorney and the court asked the defendant, in the presence of the jury, if he were going to testify (C.T. 178):

"Mr. Meehan (District Attorney): Aren't you going to testify?"

"The Court: Do you want to testify?"

"Mr. Newton: Yes, I will testify.

"The Court: All right."

The defendant then took the stand. His testimony covers nearly fifty pages of the record of the prior trial. Most of this was devoted to cross-examination of defendant by the District Attorney. The court at no time advised the defendant of his right not to testify and at no time informed him of his constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Recent California and federal decisions clearly establish that the conviction based upon this record may not be used at a subsequent trial for purposes of impeachment or for enhancing punishment.

Subsequent to the opinion of the District Court of Appeal affirming defendant's conviction, but prior to the trial herein, the Court of Appeal in *People v. Glaser*, 238 C.A.2d 819 (1965), and the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, in *Bowie v. Wilson*, U.S.D.C. for the Northern District of California, No. 43441 (1967), settled the issue as to California and federal constitutional requirements that a defendant unrepresented by counsel be advised and warned of his right not to testify against himself.

In *Bowie*, the District Court granted a writ of habeas corpus in 1967, releasing a state prisoner convicted in 1962, on the ground that a trial judge must explain to an unrepresented defendant his right not to take the stand at trial. On the state's appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, the District Court's order was affirmed on grounds affirming the principle that no advantage may be taken of an unrepresented defendant. *Bowie v. Wilson*, . . . F.2d . . . , March 27, 1969, No. 222569.

In the District Court opinion, Judge Zirpoll stated:

"(T)his court holds that a trial judge must explain, to an unrepresented defendant, his right not to take the stand. An unknown right might just as well be no right at all. As in *Miranda v. Arizona*, 384 U.S. 463 (1966) where the inherently coercive nature of station-house interrogation necessitates warnings of fifth amendment rights, and the appointment of counsel to effectuate them, a trial can be similarly inherently coercive. If a defendant is not warned of his right and of the consequences of taking the stand, he might feel compelled to testify '...to tell my side of the story' ...oblivious to the procedural consequences of such a step." Comment, "Criminal Waiver, The Requirements of Personal Participation, Competence and Legitimate State Interest," 54 Calif. L. Rev. 1262, 1270, 1293, n. 215 (1966).

"This court is satisfied that the federal constitution required a warning and explanation of consequences. The failure to give them was error. The court further finds that the error was not harmless beyond a reasonable doubt or non-prejudicial.

"The court observes that since *Bowie's* trial, California courts have settled the issue, at least as a matter of state law--the warning must be given. *People v. Glaser*, 238 C.A.2d 819 (1965); *People v. Kramer*, 227 C.A.2d 199 (1964)."

The facts in *Bowie* as to the trial court's failure to warn the defendant of his constitutional right not to testify and of the consequences of testifying were almost identical with those in defendant Newton's prior trial for assault. In *Bowie*, the court stated: "You want to testify, don't you?" The defendant stated, "I do, your Honor." The court stated, "All right." Then the defendant was sworn in and testified.

TO BE CONT.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF
OF
THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Managing Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MAN

Revolutionary Artist
and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Production
Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
ANDREW AUSTIN

Circulation
SAM NAPIER

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

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Minister of Culture
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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
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"REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME"

